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*How to keep America  
out of war*

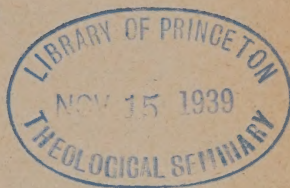
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# How to Keep America Out of War



By

**KIRBY PAGE**



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By Kirby Page



## ANSWERS TO VITAL QUESTIONS ABOUT THE WAR

1. *If Hitler wins the war, will not the United States then be in danger of invasion?* Former President Hoover recently presented evidence to show that in any event Germany probably cannot win until after a long and utterly ruinous war. The combined resources of the British Empire and France are far more powerful than the available resources of Germany and Russia, especially for a long war. It is inconceivable that an impoverished and exhausted Germany could or would invade powerful and neutral United States. Successful invasion across a wide ocean would require two or three times the fighting strength of the defending country. Convincing evidence is presented by Major General Hagood in his book, *We Can Defend America*. The chance of Hitler invading the United States is not one in a hundred.

2. *Is not the spread of Hitlerism so ominous a threat to liberty that it must be destroyed through victory in war?* Hitlerism cannot be ended by war any more than Kaiserism and Prussian militarism could be ended by the World War. On the contrary, a long war will spread totalitarianism over the earth. National Commander Raymond J. Kelly of the American Legion was quoted in an Associated Press dispatch on October 7, 1939, as warning "that for America to enter the European war might mean the loss forever of her cherished freedom, regardless of the conflict's outcome." Kelly said that war would mean a virtual dictatorship for America that might remain even after peace.

3. *In view of the fact that Great Britain, France, and the United States emerged from the World War without becoming totalitarian countries, what basis is there for the prediction that the present war will produce continuing dictatorship in belligerent lands?* The World War was followed by dictatorships in Russia, Germany, and Italy. A prolonged war on a totalitarian scale will now produce such extreme devastation, chaos and industrial conflict that wartime dictatorships are likely to be continued through a long and indefinite period of "emergency". See pages 39-43, 92.

4. *Should not the United States help the other democracies to destroy the totalitarian dictatorships?* This is not a war between democracy and totalitarianism, but a death grapple between rival imperialisms, with aggressors arrayed against op-

pressors. Hitler caused the war but the Allies caused Hitler. See pages 8-16.

5. *Is it not inexcusably selfish for Americans to stay out of war when Englishmen and Frenchmen are dying for liberty?* Modern war on a totalitarian scale is not an appropriate and effective instrument to use in defense of freedom. It is so terrible a scourge that its ravages should be restricted to as narrow a zone as possible. Moreover, Britain and France are fighting for empire and continued domination, far more than they are fighting for liberty. Their habitual practice of conquering and ruling other peoples against the wishes of their victims is a primary cause of the present clash of imperialisms. See pages 16-25; 39-43; 92.

6. *Does not frightfulness in the form of unrestricted submarine warfare and air raids over enemy cities prove that war must be waged until Hitlerism is exterminated?* The Germans are committing atrocities, and so are the British and the French. War itself is atrocity and cannot be waged without atrocity. Is drowning women and children through submarine attacks more revolting than starving women and children through a hunger blockade? In the World War, which side bombed enemy cities on the most extensive scale? See pages 29, 33, 34, 43, 72, 73.

7. *In the light of Jesus' actions in driving the money changers from the Temple, what foundation is there for the belief that Christians should never go to war?* See pages 65-69.

8. *How could Hitlerism have been prevented, and how can its threat to democracy now be removed?* Hitler was hurled into a dictator's seat by the despair and desperation and bitterness of the German people as a consequence of the ruthlessness of the Allies' policy of paralyzing Germany. The resultant menace of Hitlerism can never be destroyed by war, but by that means will only be spread more widely over the earth. It cannot be removed *immediately* by any means. The only hope of diminishing Hitlerism is through stopping the war and reliance upon such a constructive program as that outlined on pages 49-54; 66-69. Risks must be run and consequences accepted whether we rely upon armed action or upon positive peace action. The latter alone offers hope for the future. War is the worst method we can use.

FOR ANSWERS TO NUMEROUS OTHER QUESTIONS, CONSULT THE FOLLOWING TABLE OF CONTENTS, AND THE TOPICAL INDEX ON PAGES 94, 95.



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### III. WE CAN KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR!



## I. WHY KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR?

Because the energies and resources of the people of the United States will increasingly be needed for the relief of stricken humanity and for the reconstruction of a devastated world, this country must be kept out of war.

Because participation in this armed conflict would result in terrible loss of life and destruction of property; because of its brutalizing effects through releasing primitive passions of fear and hatred; because of the consequent corruption of religion, America must be kept out of war.

Because of calamitous after-effects in the probable continuation of wartime dictatorship and the fanning of the flames of industrial strife and civil war, the United States must be kept out of war.

Because this war was precipitated by the struggle of rival groups of nations for control of the territory and resources of the earth, and because responsibility for the catastrophe rests upon Great Britain, France and the United States, as well as upon German, Italy and Japan, this country should stay out.

Because the suicidal method of war is a futile way of attempting to obtain justice, maintain peace, and preserve high values, America should keep out of war.

Because of the irreconcilable contrast between the way of the sword and the way of the cross, Christians should endeavor to keep this country out of war.

For the sake of future generations, the scourge of war should be restricted to as limited territory as possible. By keeping out of war the people of the United States in the tragic days to come will be in a far more advantageous position to uphold democracy and to advance civilization.

The desirability of keeping America out of war is recognized at this hour by an overwhelming majority of our people. A popular plebiscite now<sup>1</sup> at the beginning of this conflict would undoubtedly result in a decisive vote to keep out of war. But the fact must not be forgotten that in November, 1916, this nation registered its determination to keep out of that war. Two terrific pressures must be resisted if we are to remain at peace:

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<sup>1</sup> This pamphlet is being published on November 1, 1939.

economic entanglement and the argument of idealism that it is our duty to fight for fellow-democracies.

If we are to resist the double appeal of self-interest and self-sacrifice, *we must quickly forge an iron will to peace.* To this end we must sharpen mental faculties and discipline emotions. And we must adopt and adhere to an adequate program of governmental action.

Above all we must refute the argument that the United States must inevitably be drawn into the war. AMERICA CAN BE KEPT OUT OF WAR! The task ahead is difficult but not impossible.

## II. HOW KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR?

1. *By Deepening Understanding of the CAUSES of This War.* If the American people become convinced that this war is a struggle between darkness and light, between iniquity and righteousness, they are likely to plunge into the combat. From 1914 to 1918 every belligerent nation maintained that its people were fighting in self-defense to protect homes and honor; in behalf of allies and weak victims of enemy aggression; in order to save civilization from destruction at the hands of barbarians; and to preserve the Kingdom of God from the onslaught of satanic forces. So important is clear thinking about the origins of the war now raging that we should consider in some detail the sequence of events which led to this holocaust.

(a) *Hitler's Aggression.* The responsibility of Hitler for precipitating the war is clear and incontestable. Let nobody attempt to whitewash his reckless and criminal actions during the closing days of August and in many a previous crisis. He is guilty, damnably guilty. But the question must be raised: in dealing with Hitler are we dealing with a *sinner* or with a *fellow-sinner*? Why Hitler? How does it happen that the German people submit to and support his ruthless dictatorship? What are the dynamics of his aggression and lust for empire? Where did he obtain the power which enabled him to begin this war?

(b) *The Treaty of Versailles and the Allies' Policy.* Hitler's power was derived directly from the Allies' effort to break Germany's back and reduce her to the rank of an impotent rival in world politics. This fact is now so widely recognized that we are in danger of missing its crucial significance by sheer familiarity. Morning, noon and night we must continue to pro-



claim the incontestable truth: France, Great Britain and allies produced Hitler and enthroned him in a dictator's chair. *Hitler caused the war and the Allies caused Hitler!*

Mr. Ray Stannard Baker, biographer of Woodrow Wilson, thus summarizes French demands at the Peace Conference: "1. French military control of the Rhine; 2. A permanent alliance of the great Powers to help France to hold it; 3. A group of smaller allies to menace Germany from the east; 4. Territorial reduction of the German Empire; 5. Crippling of the German political organization; 6. Disarmament of Germany but not of the Allies; 7. A crushing indemnity; 8. Deprivation of economic resources; 9. A set of commercial agreements preferential to France, prejudicial to Germany. Here we have exactly what was in the minds of the leaders of the Old Order, and their programme for the coming peace. It is easy, of course, to cry out, as the Germans do, that this was a purely militaristic and imperialistic programme. Strong militaristic and imperialistic elements there certainly were in it, but the dominating element first and last was fear and a passion for security."<sup>1</sup>

The French policy of national defense at Versailles and subsequently may be stated simply: make France safe by keeping Germany weak and by making France strong. Prevent Germany from attacking by making it impossible for her to win. Therefore, the French, with generous cooperation from other Allied powers, crammed into the Treaty of Versailles numerous provisions designed to weaken Germany's military, economic and political power. "The Treaty of Versailles of June 28, 1919, humbled Germany to the dust and imposed upon her terms so severe as to render her impotent in European international politics for many years. The Reich lost all its overseas colonies, Alsace-Lorraine, the Saar Valley, Eupen and Malmedy, the Polish corridor, part of Upper Silesia, and a portion of Schleswig. German investments and property abroad were seized. Germany's coal production was reduced by one-third, and her iron supplies by three-fourths. The German merchant marine was confiscated by the Allies. The German battle fleet was surrendered. The German army was limited to 100,000 men and was forbidden to possess tanks, heavy artillery, or airplanes. The new German navy was restricted to six battleships of not more than 10,000 tons, six light cruisers, twelve destroy-

<sup>1</sup> Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement*, vol. 2, pp. 20, 21.

ers, and no submarines. The left bank of the Rhine and a fifty-kilometer zone on the right bank were demilitarized. The left bank and the bridge-heads were subjected to military occupation for fifteen years. A Reparation Commission was appointed to fix Germany's financial obligations to indemnify the victors for civilian damages, pensions, and the Belgian war debt, on the theory that the war was a result of 'the aggression of Germany and her allies.'"<sup>1</sup> Equally resolute efforts were put forth to increase France's might by unequalled fortifications, massive armed preparedness, and a series of military alliances. To all appearances, Germany was reduced comparatively to the rank of a third-rate power.

*What would Frenchmen or Englishmen or Americans have done if they had stood in German shoes during those years?* Remember that during the World War the Germans also were certain that they were fighting in self-defense against encirclement and strangulation. With unexcelled zeal and courage they fought against terrific odds. Their staggering casualties were in vain. They lost the war and were compelled to endure the crushing burdens considered necessary to France's safety. Hatred was intensified by the conviction that Germany was promised peace on a basis of Wilson's Fourteen Points and then betrayed. Concerning the Treaty of Versailles, a British statesman has written: "... seldom in the history of man has such vindictiveness cloaked itself in such unctuous sophistry . . . nineteen out of President Wilson's twenty-three 'Terms of Peace' were flagrantly violated in the Treaty of Versailles as finally drafted."<sup>2</sup> Failure to pay the impossible indemnity was answered by French invasion of the Ruhr. Inflation and economic depression produced indescribable misery and an appalling sense of hopelessness. Under these circumstances, what would patriotic Frenchmen have done? What would any despairing people have done?

The Germans turned to Hitler as their only hope of deliverance from oppression and tyranny. He symbolized their hatred and their determination to secure revenge. "The Treaty of Versailles," writes H. M. Tomlinson, "was but a bridge of tinder over hell. The men who framed it were told that at the time. It was made by statesmen whose views differed in no essential from those now preparing for another war. Berlin and Vienna

<sup>1</sup> Frederick L. Schuman, *International Politics*, pp. 445, 446.

<sup>2</sup> Harold Nicolson, *Peacemaking 1919*, pp. 187-13



are two of the lovely consequences of the peace treaties. Hitler's fame and power derive from France. Poincaré and Clemenceau prompted Germany to an escape from helotry into fatuous happiness with notions which make the peoples on her frontiers anxious now as to what ecstatic dance her illusion of glory will next lead her. We can provide places for unfortunates who know they are the reincarnation of the Virgin Mary or Napoleon; but when a nation goes that way the matter is more perplexing. It was the logic of French realists that recreated the German menace it imagined it was nullifying."<sup>1</sup> Any other nation would in such an hour turn to its Hitler. And the situation which he confronted caused Hitler to become more and more bellicose. Re-armament and spectacular displays of daring became absolutely necessary to the success of his program.

*Imagine the feelings of patriotic Americans if they had been victimized in this way:* "The revolution said, in effect, that the Kaiser and the Imperial system had been at fault. Now all that was gone, and with it the issues on which they had been duped into such an appalling waste of life. All this seemed clearer, too, since the Allied powers, which had won the war, announced their goals accomplished with the collapse of the Empire and the flight of the Kaiser to Doorn. The terms of the Armistice and of the fourteen points of President Wilson, on the basis of which arms had first been laid down, had served to bring this picture of things into still sharper relief. Then why the Treaty of Versailles? If the German people had been duped into fighting a fratricidal war by a ruler now fled and a caste of reactionary power now broken, on what basis could the Allied powers not only condemn the German people as a whole, but also lay upon their shoulders a burden which everybody knew they could not possibly bear—a burden which was intended not only to *punish* an admittedly innocent *people*, but which was also intended to beat them into a condition of servitude, generation after generation. The load of Versailles was, indeed, heavy. The bitter old men gathered together in the famous Hall of Mirrors had no intention to live up to the terms of the Armistice, the fourteen points, or any other promise. Their ethics were no different from those of the acquisitive and completely amoral forces which had catapulted the world into the long-drawn-out slaughter just past and which it had been their mad fortune to

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<sup>1</sup> H. M. Tomlinson, *Mars His Idiot*, p. 31.

command. Of what price an agreement? Of what worth a pledge scrawled on a 'scrap of paper'? With their ears finely attuned to the cheap magic of passing popular approval in coming-home elections—approval of deliberately inflamed and war-propaganda misled electorates—utterly oblivious to the grisly and terrifying implications of their decisions for the future, and dominated by the virulent, world-weary, and cynical old Clemenceau, they moved, not to salvage, but to crush, annihilate, and destroy.”<sup>1</sup>

How would the British have reacted to the imposition of a staggering indemnity of more than six billion pounds sterling (132 billion gold marks)? Is there any doubt that the French would have regarded themselves as victims of intolerable oppression if the situation had been reversed and the Germans had seized the industrial heart of France in an endeavor to force the payment of impossible sums of indemnity? The last shred of doubt that they are sorely oppressed would be removed for any people by resultant inflation that destroyed the value of a nation's currency and wiped out the lifetime savings of an entire people. Look for a moment at the ghastly figures of German inflation:<sup>2</sup>

	Marks Note Circulation	Number of Marks Equaling One U. S. Dollar
Jan. 6, 1923 .....	1,336,500,000,000	8.695
June 7, 1923 .....	9,309,532,000,000	76.923
July 7, 1923 .....	20,241,750,000,000	222.222
Aug. 7, 1923 .....	62,326,659,000,000	3,125,000
Sept. 7, 1923 .....	1,182,039,000,000,000	33,333.333
Oct. 6, 1923 .....	46,933,600,000,000,000	909,090,909
Oct. 31, 1923 .....	2,496,822,908,936,000,000	166.666.666.667
Nov. 7, 1923 .....	19,153,087,468,804,000,000	2,500,000,000,000
Nov. 15, 1923 .....	92,844,720,742,927,000,000	4,000,000,000,000
Nov. 23, 1923 .....	223,927,315,083,796,000,000	5,000,000,000,000
Nov. 30, 1923 .....	400,267,640,291,760,000,000	6,666.666.666.667

“Teetering on the edge of an abyss” is a literal description of the plight of the German people. Four and a half years of terrible suffering in wartime, followed by inflation and ruin, with a short period of comparative prosperity as a result of enormous loans and substantial credits by outside powers, and then the world economic depression! “. . . on one country in Europe.” wrote G. D. H. Cole, “the reaction of the American boom fell far more disastrously than on the rest.

<sup>1</sup> Robert A. Brady, *The Spirit and Structure of German Fascism*, pp. 8, 9.

<sup>2</sup> From figures prepared by the National City Bank and published in *Nation's Business*, February, 1934, p. 27.



Germany, since the stabilization of her currency and the readjustment of reparations under the Dawes Plan of 1924, had been energetically reconstructing her industries on the basis of an intensive mechanization which involved very heavy capital expenditure. . . . During these years the Germans borrowed from investors in other countries nearly fifteen thousand million reichsmarks (£750,000,000 at par). This was twice as much as she paid in reparations including deliveries in kind, and at least half of her total borrowings came from the United States. . . . When in the United States the boom broke and the slump set in, the situation in Germany at once became far worse. . . . Thus through the whole of 1930 and 1931 the German economic position became steadily more difficult and even desperate, although the German Government took the most drastic measures to deal with the situation. . . . The cost of maintaining the unemployed weighed more and more heavily on the German budget, and in the early months of 1931 Germany was absolutely at the end of her tether. Only the Hoover moratorium on war debts and reparations and the Berlin 'stand-still' agreement, under which Germany's creditors agreed to postpone repayment of their short-term loans, saved her from complete economic collapse; and as both these measures were purely temporary, whereas the causes which had made them necessary showed no sign of passing away, all that was secured by them was a brief respite. There was no restoration of confidence in the future, because no one knew what was to happen when the moratorium and the 'stand-still' came to an end. There was no recovery of the German home market or of the standard of life, which indeed was pressed down further and further as the world situation became progressively worse. Germany carried on, but only by desperate measures of semi-starvation enforced by rigid governmental control at the cost of stirring up among the German people a ferment of resentment and despair."<sup>1</sup>

Only by desperate measures of semi-starvation! Seventeen years after the beginning of the agony of the world war! How would American patriots have responded to a similar situation?

*Is there any occasion for surprise that under these appalling circumstances the German people should make a scapegoat of the Social Democrats and other moderates who had signed the Treaty of Versailles and attempted to carry out its provisions?*

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<sup>1</sup> G. D. H. Cole, *The Intelligent Man's Guide Through World Chaos*, pp. 86-94.

Or that they turned to the man who symbolized in the most extreme form hatred of the oppressors and who made the most extravagant promises of relief and redemption if he were placed in control of German policy? Is there the slightest basis for surprise at German re-armament? If the people of the United States, with unsurpassed security, are spending this year far more than a billion dollars in preparation for war, how much would they spend if they were subjected to the misery, insecurity and indignity which the Germans have endured throughout the entire lifetime of her youth of seventeen?

What would the people of Great Britain or France do if they had surrendered on a basis of definite commitments, one of which was reduction of national armies to the status of domestic police, only to find that disarmament was one-sided against them and that their conquerors refused to carry out their written pledge? Four years after the Armistice the armament budget of the world was nearly twice as much as in 1914, and by 1930 the total was approximately three times that of the pre-war figure. And this in spite of the disarmament of the vanquished!

An outstanding British writer summarizes the situation in this way: "The story of the Disarmament Conference is a tragic one, not only because of its record of opportunities missed and genuinely well-meant intentions misunderstood, but also because it represents the second great disillusionment which we of the present generation have suffered in the last fifteen years. . . . It is true that the principle of democratic government was forced upon a Germany unprepared and, to a great extent, unsuited for it, but, this having been done, it was hoped that the older democracies of the West would at least extend a helping hand, and would play their part in that policy of fulfilment which first Rathenau, then Stresemann, and then Brüning strove genuinely and honestly to carry out. But it was here that there came the second disillusionment. The promises made to Germany under the Peace Treaties remained unfulfilled, and, having established a democratic form of government in Berlin, the Allies continued to treat it as though it were composed of the most dangerous Prussian War Lords. No measures were taken to remedy the harsh terms of the Treaty and no concession was made to Germany until it was wrung from the Allies by the sheer inexorability of facts. . . . Again and again, with all the eloquence and sincerity at their command, Stresemann and Brüning warned the Allied countries



*themselves, that persistence in attempting to keep Germany permanently in subjection must inevitably end in national revolution and all that that implied.* Again and again they assured us that it needed only a gesture of understanding from abroad to enable them to meet this new spirit of regeneration in Germany with an open hand, and to control and utilize it in building up a new State of which Europe might be proud. The warnings fell upon deaf ears. France could not, and England, apparently, would not, hear. Relentlessly they held on their same course, and in Germany the last Chancellors of the Republic, Bruning, von Papen, and von Schleicher, struggled vainly to keep in check the rising tide of National Socialism. The end came on 30th January, 1933, when Adolf Hitler was appointed Chancellor and the Weimar System vanished in blood and recrimination. . . . The new situation must be faced, and it must be realized that the New Germany, the *Dritte Reich* of Adolf Hitler, born alike of the blindness and stupidity of Allied diplomacy and of the deep-seated passions of the revival of German Nationalism, is going to rearm to the fullest degree which she considers necessary, and, having done so, will set about revising the other provisions of the Treaty of Versailles which she considers unjust. . . . In taking account of the policies of the New Germany, dangerous and repulsive as they are, the fact remains that these policies would not have existed today if yesterday the Allies in their wisdom had seen fit to adopt a more friendly and a more sensible attitude towards the Germany which they themselves had created.”<sup>1</sup>

Who is responsible for German re-armament? Which other great power would have refrained from re-arming as long as Germany did? The French have acted in about the same way that any other patriotic people would have acted in a similar situation; and the Germans likewise have responded in about the same manner that any other nation would have done under parallel circumstances. Therefore, the present war is being fought on one side with holy zeal against the aggressor, whereas soldiers on the other side are pouring out their blood to free their land from the domination of oppressors.

*Should the United States be willing to take up arms against Germany the aggressor in defense of France and Great Britain the oppressors?*

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<sup>1</sup> John W. Wheeler-Bennett, *The Pipe Dream of Peace*, pp. xiii, xiv, xv. Italics mine.

If some reader should consider untrue and unfair the characterizing of France and Great Britain as oppressors, let him consider not merely the crushing consequences of the Treaty of Versailles but also the treaties which were designed to break the backs of Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey. *The territory of Hungary was reduced from 125,000 square miles to 36,000 square miles!*<sup>1</sup> Concerning the fate of Hungary, the *Columbia Encyclopaedia* says: "The country, a former maritime nation, became a land-locked state with about one-third of its former population and territory."<sup>2</sup> Land-locked! No Hungarian corridor to the sea! *What a precedent for Hitler's smashing of Poland!* The territory of Austria was so mutilated and her resources divided to such an extent among her enemies that the Austrian people were reduced to the depths of economic degradation. The *Columbia Encyclopaedia* says that the terms of the Treaty of Sevres with Turkey "were essentially those incorporated in secret treaties concluded among the Allies in the World War."<sup>3</sup> Its provisions were so annihilating that even though Turkish nationalists were utterly exhausted by the burden of the World War, they refused to acquiesce and again took up arms.

Precedents in abundance for Hitler's ruthless breaking up of Czecho-Slovakia and Poland may be found in the historic actions of his enemies! To say this is not to excuse Hitler, but to condemn French and British statesmen. They are fellow-sinners!

(c) *The Secret Treaties During the World War.* Why were the terms of the "peace" treaties so drastic? Illumination is shed by the secret treaties signed by the Allies during 1915. Early in the war the principal Allied powers entered into a series of secret treaties with each other in which they agreed upon the division of the territory which they expected to win from the enemy. The most important of these was the Treaty of London, signed on April 26, 1915, by Great Britain, Italy, France and Russia. The terms of these treaties were unknown to the people of any of the countries concerned until they were revealed by the Bolsheviks following the overthrow of the Czar. It should be recalled that during the period these treaties

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<sup>1</sup> Arthur H. Noyes, *Europe: Its History and Its World Relationships*, p. 505.

<sup>2</sup> Page 1785.

<sup>3</sup> Page 1609.



were negotiated the Allied leaders were proclaiming the ideal aims of the war.<sup>1</sup> These documents reveal clearly the wide divergence between the public utterances and the actual purposes of the Allied leaders. "Every clause of every treaty," says G. Lowes Dickinson, "dealt simply with the transference of territory from the enemy states to the allies, that the former might become weaker, and the latter stronger."<sup>2</sup> According to the provisions of these treaties the Allied nations were to receive additional territory as follows:<sup>3</sup>

*Great Britain:* Neutral zone in Persia, Southern Mesopotamia, Bagdad, Haifa and Akka in Syria, and a part of the German colonies.

*France:* Syria, Adana Vilayet, territory in Asia Minor, Alsace-Lorraine, Saar Valley, occupation of territories on the left bank of the Rhine, and a part of the German colonies.

*Italy:* Trentino, Southern Tyrol, Trieste, County of Gorizia-Gradisca, Istria, Istrian Islands, Dalmatia, Dalmatian Islands, Valona, Islands of the Aegean, Adalia and territory in Asia Minor, extension of colonies in Africa, a share in the war indemnity.

*Japan:* Parts of Shantung, Pacific Islands.

*Roumania:* Transylvania, the Banat, Bukovina.

*Russia:* Constantinople, Turkey in Europe, Bosphorus and Dardanelles, Sea of Marmora, Imbros and Tenedos, full liberty in Northern Persia, Ispahan and Yezd, Trebizond, Erserum, Van and Bitlis, further territory in Asia Minor.

*Serbia and Montenegro:* Southern Dalmatian Coast, Spalato, Ragusa, Cattaro, San Giovanni di Medua in Albania, possible annexation of Northern Albanian district.

In commenting upon these treaties, Mr. John Foster Bass says: "One reading of this wholesale distribution of alien territory will show the flagrant political immoralities and the fundamental disagreements with every public declaration made

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<sup>1</sup> These treaties were published in the official journal of the Soviets and in *The Manchester Guardian*. Later they were published in book form by F. Seymour Cocks under the title, *The Secret Treaties*. A good summary is found in Ray Stannard Baker's *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement*, vol. 1, chapter 3; and in *The Peace Tangle*, by John Foster Bass, chapter 2.

<sup>2</sup> *War: Its Nature, Cause and Cure*, p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> *The Secret Treaties*, pp. 93, 94.

by the Entente statesmen to their parliaments and peoples. By these agreements the Allies each took its share of the domain of those it expected to conquer.”<sup>1</sup>

Concerning the effects of these treaties upon the negotiations of the Peace Conference, Mr. Ray Stannard Baker, who was entrusted by President Wilson with the secret minutes and other important documents and requested to prepare a history of the proceedings, says: “When the Peace Conference began the same elements in each nation, often the same leaders who had made those secret treaties were still in power. Not only did most of them know and believe in that method of diplomacy—some of them had been schooled in it all their lives—not only were they committed to the full use of the military method, which they also understood perfectly, but far more fundamental than either, these secret treaties represented the real views, the real desires, the real necessities of the various governments. . . . Nothing in the voluminous records of the Council of Ten and Council of Four at Paris is more impressive than the amount of time—invaluable time, priceless energy—devoted to trying to devise methods of getting around or over or through these old secret entanglements. There, and not in discussions of the League of Nations, was where the time was lost. . . .

“Such were, in general, the desires, needs, ambitions of the allied governments set forth in the secret treaties. So they intended, if they won the war, to divide up the world; so they actually tried to divide it up at the Peace Conference. Though outwardly they were combating imperialism as symbolized by Germany, they were themselves seeking vast extensions of their own imperial and economic power. They kept these agreements secret from their own people, fearing their effect upon the great masses of the workers and liberal groups; they kept them secret also from their smaller allies, like Serbia, and they kept them secret from America, both before and after America came into the war. These treaties, partly disclosed in enemy countries through the publication of the Bolsheviki, and greatly exaggerated there, were powder and shot—army corps!—to the enemy, for they were used to prove the contention of the German war lords that the Allies were really fighting to gobble up the world. And finally they bore a crop of suspicion, controversy, balked ambition, which twice, at least,

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<sup>1</sup> *The Peace Tangle*, p. 15.



nearly wrecked the Peace Conference, poisoned its discussions, and warped and disfigured its final decisions."<sup>1</sup>

(d) *The World War*. Why did the Allies seek to carve up the territory of their enemies and why were the terms of the peace treaties so severe? These questions must be answered in the light of the facts concerning the origins of the World War. Was that war caused by the Kaiser and his Prussian militarists? The entire Treaty of Versailles rests upon the foundation of the sole guilt of Germany. Lloyd George summed up the Allied position when he said to the German Minister Simons, on March 3, 1921: "For the Allies German responsibility is decisive; it is the foundation on which the structure of the Treaty of Paris has been reared. If recognition of this fact be refused or regarded as invalid, the Treaty itself falls. We desire, therefore, once for all and to all to declare quite clearly that Germany's responsibility for the war is to be treated as a *cause jugée*."<sup>2</sup> On December 27, 1920, and again on July 7, 1922, Poincaré declared that "the peace of Versailles was not based on Germany's defeat but on Germany's responsibility for the War."<sup>3</sup>

The contention is often advanced that the Treaty of Versailles does not assert the sole guilt of Germany. Let the reader form his own conclusion as to the meaning of Article 231 of the Treaty, which reads as follows: "The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationalities have been subjected as a *consequence of the war imposed on them by the aggression of Germany and her allies*." *The Allied Commission on the Responsibility of the Authors of the War*, presided over by Secretary Lansing, reported: "The war was premeditated by the Central Powers together with their allies, Turkey and Bulgaria, and was the result of acts deliberately committed in order to make it unavoidable."<sup>4</sup>

Even stronger is the language used by the Allied statesmen in their reply to Germany concerning the objections raised by the latter against the Treaty. On June 16, 1919, Clemenceau, as President of the Peace Conference, wrote as follows to the Presi-

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<sup>1</sup> Woodrow Wilson and *World Settlement*, vol. 1, pp. 24-26, 79-80.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Herman Harris Aall, *The Neutral Investigation of the Causes of the War*, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 21.

<sup>4</sup> Sidney B. Fay, *The Origins of The World War*, vol. 1, p. 7.

dent of the German Delegation at Versailles: "In view of the Allied and Associated Powers the war which begun on August 1st, 1914, was the greatest crime against humanity and the freedom of peoples that any nation, calling itself civilized has ever *consciously committed* . . . they (the rulers of Germany) required that they should be able to dictate and tyrannize to a subservient Europe. . . . The World War was inevitable *for which they had plotted, and for which alone among the nations they were fully equipped and prepared.* Germany's responsibility, however, is not confined to having planned and started the war . . . a crime against humanity and right. . . . Justice, therefore, is the only possible basis for the settlement of the accounts of this terrible war."<sup>1</sup>

In the official memorandum which accompanied Clemenceau's letter we read: "The outbreak of the War *was deliberately plotted and executed* by those who wielded the supreme power in Vienna, Budapest and Berlin . . . the peace-loving nations of Western Europe were gradually driven, under a series of *crisis provoked from Berlin*, to come together in self-defense . . . it was the fear of the rulers of Germany lest their plans for universal domination should be brought to nought by the rising tide of democracy, that drove them to endeavor to overcome all resistance at one stroke *by plunging Europe into universal war* . . . *she planned and started the war* which caused the massacre and mutilation of millions and the ravaging of Europe from end to end."<sup>2</sup> In his memoirs, Clemenceau wrote: "For the catastrophe of 1914 the Germans are responsible. Only a professional liar would deny this."<sup>3</sup> Upon this cornerstone rests the Treaty of Versailles.

That the position maintained by Clemenceau and his colleagues is absolutely untenable in the light of all the known facts is now almost universally admitted by competent Allied and neutral scholars. Pierre Renouvin, Professor of the History of the Great War at the University of Paris and one of the ablest of French historians, wrote: "*There is nothing, to tell the truth, to prove that Germany and Austria actually wanted to bring on a general war at this time.* There is every reason to think, on the contrary, that they would have been satisfied with only a limited degree of success, which would

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<sup>1</sup> *The Treaty of Peace Between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany*, pp. 239-241. Italics mine.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 273, 275. Italics mine.

<sup>3</sup> Georges Clemenceau, *Grandeur and Misery of Victory*, p. 105.

have been sufficient to strengthen their position and to reestablish their prestige.”<sup>1</sup>

Professor G. P. Gooch is undoubtedly the leading English authority on war guilt. His standing is indicated by the fact that he was one of two historians selected by the British Government to examine the secret files of the Foreign Office and to prepare relevant important documents for publication. Here is his mature judgment concerning war responsibility: “Though the conduct of each of the belligerents appeared to its enemies to indicate a double dose of original sin, it was nevertheless in every case what might have been expected. . . . Blind to danger and deaf to advice as were the statesmen of the three despotic Empires, *not one of them, when it came to the point, desired to set the world alight.* But though they may be acquitted of the inexpressible crime of deliberately starting the avalanche, they must jointly bear the reproach of having chosen the path which led to the abyss.”<sup>2</sup>

Some years after the war, Mr. Lloyd George said: “The more one reads memoirs and books written in the various countries of what happened before the first of August, 1914, the more one realises that no one at the head of affairs quite meant war at that stage. It was something into which they glided, or rather staggered and stumbled, perhaps through folly, and a discussion, I have no doubt, would have averted it.”<sup>3</sup>

The memoirs of Lord Carnock contain much significant data. As Sir Arthur Nicolson, he was Permanent Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs of Great Britain during the critical days prior to and after the outbreak of hostilities. In the present volume which has been edited by his son we are informed that Lord Carnock “was incensed by the theory, which was even then (1917) being propagated, that Germany had provoked the war. . . . He followed the peace negotiations with interest and apprehension. He was appalled by the Treaty of Versailles. Particularly did he resent the paragraph which obliged Germany by force to admit that she was solely responsible for the war.”

Professor Sidney B. Fay, of Harvard, has been acclaimed the foremost American authority on war guilt. His two volumes

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<sup>1</sup> Pierre Renouvin, *The Immediate Origins of the War*, pp. 334-355. Italics mine.

<sup>2</sup> G. P. Gooch, *Recent Revelations of European Diplomacy*, 1930 edition, pp. 206-214. Italics mine.

<sup>3</sup> G. P. Gooch, *History of Modern Europe*, p. 559.



have received the highest possible praise from his fellow historians. His main conclusions are these: "*None of the Powers wanted a European War. . . . One must abandon the dictum of the Versailles Treaty that Germany and her allies were solely responsible.* It was a dictum exacted by victors from vanquished, under the influence of the blindness, ignorance, hatred, and the propagandist misconception to which war has given rise. . . . *Germany did not plot a European War, did not want one,* and made genuine, though too belated efforts, to avert one. She was the victim of her alliance with Austria and of her own folly. . . . General mobilization of the continental armies took place in the following order: Serbia, Russia, Austria, France and Germany. . . . It was the hasty Russian general mobilization, assented to on July 29 and ordered on July 30, while Germany was still trying to bring Austria to accept mediation proposals, which finally rendered the European War inevitable. . . . But the verdict of the Versailles Treaty that Germany and her allies were responsible for the war, in view of the evidence now available, is historically unsound. *It should therefore be revised.*"<sup>1</sup> In a review of the *Grosse Politik*, Professor Sidney B. Fay wrote: "While it is true that Germany, no less than all the other Great Powers, did some things which contributed to produce a situation which ultimately resulted in the World War, it is altogether false to say that she deliberately plotted to bring it about or was solely responsible for it. On the contrary, she worked more effectively than any other Great Power, except England, to avert it, not only in the last days of July, 1914, but also in the years immediately preceding."<sup>2</sup>

(e) *Nationalism, Imperialism, Militarism.* The World War was caused by the terrific struggle among the great powers for control of the territories and resources of the earth. Which nations were primarily responsible for the intensity of this world-wide conflict? Which countries were armed most heavily and which ones seized the richest prizes? Two tests may be applied in seeking to determine relative responsibility for the race of imperialism: boasts, claims and threats, on the one hand; and specific accomplishments, on the other. Germany may have excelled in the former, but made a poor showing in

<sup>1</sup> Sidney B. Fay, *The Origins of the World War*, vol. 2, pp. 547-558. Italics mine.

<sup>2</sup> Sidney B. Fay, quoted by Harry Elmer Barnes, *World Politics in Modern Civilization*, p. 315.

the latter. In 1914 the various colonial empires stood as follows:<sup>1</sup>

Country	No. of Colo- nies	Area Sq. Mi.		Population	
		Mother Country	Colonies	Mother Country	Colonies
United Kingdom.....	55	120,953	12,044,000	46,052,700	391,582,528
France .....	29	207,076	4,110,409	29,602,000	62,350,000
German Empire.....	10	208,830	1,231,000	64,926,000	13,075,000
Belgium .....	1	11,373	910,000	7,571,000	15,000,000
Portugal .....	8	35,500	804,440	5,960,000	10,021,000
Netherlands .....	8	12,761	762,863	6,102,000	37,410,000
Italy .....	4	110,623	591,250	35,239,000	1,396,000
United States .....	6	3,026,000	125,610	98,781,000	10,021,000

The relative responsibility for the imperialist rivalry of the Great Powers was once outlined by that intrepid British publicist, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, in these words: "England was the chief sinner among the white Empires in their dealings with the weak nations of the African world. . . . Germany's plunder of the weak has been small in act compared to ours, or even to that of France, during the past half century. . . . The only difference between Berlin morality and ours in Downing Street had been that we had been careful to preserve our outward attitude of forbearance and respect for moral right, while Berlin had been shameless in its anti-human logic. Also that as an empire we were already sated like a lion surrounded with the carcasses of its prey, while Germany was alert and hungry."<sup>2</sup>

Before me as I write is a full-page map published in the *Chicago Tribune*.<sup>3</sup> In various colors it shows the original thirteen colonies and subsequent acquisitions of territory by the United States. Captions interpret different sections of this map: Taken by Conquest, Organized 1787; By Conquest, Organized 1790; By Conquest, Spanish claim relinquished 1795; By Conquest, Spanish Cession 1810; By Conquest, Spanish Cession 1813; By Conquest, Spanish Cession 1819; Annexation 1845; Mexican Cession 1848; Philippines, By Conquest 1898; Hawaii, by Annexation 1898. Aggression is written all over this map.

The military mind revealed the same characteristics in the different countries. The emphasis varied with differences in

<sup>1</sup> Barnes, *World Politics in Modern Civilization*, p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> W. S. Blunt, *My Diaries*, vol. 1, pp. 368, 369.

<sup>3</sup> May 3, 1936.

the strategic situation. In those nations which had already achieved military or naval supremacy and which had rounded out their empires, the militarists were usually more moderate in their utterances. The under-dogs and late-comers have always appeared to be more aggressive. The "haves" were more likely to be satisfied with the preservation of the *status quo*, while the "have-nots" felt compelled to assume the initiative.

The final and irrefutable proof that militarism sank deeply into the mind and heart of Europe is found in the tables of expenditures and statistics of enrollment of men for military and naval purposes during the half century preceding the outbreak of the World War. For forty years prior to 1914 the nations of Europe spent on armaments an average of one billion dollars annually. The following tables reveal the calamitous trend.<sup>1</sup>

Total Cost of European Armaments From  
1873 to 1913

(In dollars—000,000 omitted)

Nation	Total for Armaments	Army Expenses	Navy Expenses
France .....	\$ 8,568	\$ 6,105	\$ 2,463 (c)
Great Britain (b) .....	8,401	4,373	4,028
Russia (a) .....	7,581	6,150	1,431
Germany .....	7,434	5,782	1,652
Italy .....	3,010	2,163	847
Austria-Hungary .....	2,774	2,478	296
Total—41 years.....	\$37,768	\$27,051	\$10,717

(a) Deducting the cost of the war with Japan, \$1,333 million.

(b) Deducting the cost of the Boer war, \$1,368 million.

(c) "Marine and Colonies." Figures not segregated, but official statement from which they are taken includes them as part of "the military expenses of our country."

The rank in total expenditures for armaments during the fourteen years immediately preceding the World War was as follows:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Harvey E. Fisk, *French Public Finance*, p. 2. Published by The Bankers Trust Company, New York.

<sup>2</sup> *Fortnightly Review*, April 1, 1913, pp. 654, 655.



	Millions of pounds sterling
1. Great Britain .....	889.6*
2. Russia .....	810.2
3. Germany .....	765.9
4. France .....	660.4

The comparative size of the various armies in 1895 and 1914 was as follows:<sup>1</sup>

	1914	1895	Population 1914
1. Russia .....	1,300,000	910,000	174,000,000
2. France .....	846,000	572,000	40,000,000
3. Germany .....	812,000	585,000	68,000,000
4. Austria-Hungary .....	424,000	349,000	52,000,000
5. Italy .....	318,000	238,000	36,000,000
6. Great Britain .....	250,000	369,000	46,000,000
7. Japan .....	250,000	.....	54,000,000
8. United States .....	105,000	.....	99,000,000

Professor Langer concludes a monumental survey of imperialism during the period 1890-1902 with these words: "One cannot study this period without marvelling at the exuberance and optimism which went hand in hand with recklessness and confidence in the conduct of foreign affairs. It was taken for granted that the world was marked out by Providence for exploitation by the European white man and that the principle of every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost was natural law. In the writings of the statesmen and in the writings of journalists there is very little trace of deeper understanding. The rise of Japan, the Audua disaster, the Boxer rising, none of these epoch-making events really opened the eyes of Europe. Even Lord Salisbury could see in the world nothing but a few virile nations and a large number of dying nations. The basic problem of international relations was *who should cut up the victims.*"<sup>2</sup>

(f) *Popular ideas concerning competitive individualism and nationalism.* Why did the citizens of the various belliger-

\* Not including 178 millions of extraordinary expenses because of the Boer War. The above figures include an average of 28 millions for 1900-1903.

<sup>1</sup> Parker T. Moon, *Syllabus on International Relations*, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> William L. Langer, *The Diplomacy of Imperialism*, Vol. II, p. 797. Italics mine.

ent nations submit to ruinous taxation and conscription of life in the waging of suicidal war? Because of the popularity of the basic ideas underlying a competitive social order: self-interest must be the driving incentive of economic behavior; a man is entitled to all the money that he can acquire legally; competition is the most desirable method of production and distribution; government should keep hands off economic activities except for a minimum police regulation; national interest must determine policies of nations; each country is entitled to all the privilege and power that it can acquire; international competition must be the method of controlling and utilizing the world's economic resources; each nation is sovereign and must not submit to domination by a super-government.

The mentality and habits created among the people at large by daily familiarity with ruthless economic struggle for private gain are in the last analysis responsible for the outbreak of international war. Powerful industrialists and chauvinistic patriots cannot wage war without popular support. Corruption of the minds and degradation of the characters of citizens in general are charges that must be laid at the door of competitive capitalism. It would be folly to say that capitalism alone must shoulder this responsibility. But the accepted principles and practices of a competitive economic society are constant incitations to greed and callousness and ruthlessness. The idea that an individual is entitled to all the privilege and power that he can lay hands upon; the glorification of grabbing as a method of distributing the necessities, comforts and luxuries of life; the division of society along lines of extreme wealth and extreme privation; the blindness that comes from wielding power and the numbness produced by prolonged exploitation; the degree of suppression and brutality used in maintaining vested privileges and the ease with which workers follow this example of resorting to violence in their struggle for justice; the craving for excitement on the part of millions who are doomed to monotony and sordidness—all these make it easy for people whose lives are dominated by competitive capitalism to resort to war. Such individuals are easy prey for jingoists and militarists. With appalling enthusiasm they rush madly over the brink of international suicide.

Modern civilization is organized on a basis of self-centeredness and competitive struggle. Thinly disguised is the process: "every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost." It

would be difficult to devise a social system which would stimulate covetousness and greed and conflict more powerfully than does the existing economic and political system. Survival through competitive struggle is bound to produce war if—if God's processes are reliable and reaping is determined by sowing. "Be not deceived; God is not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." The catastrophe of another world war springs directly from the popularity of the idea that a man must be motivated by self-interest and is justified in seeking maximum gain for himself through competitive struggle and must not submit to more than minimum interference from his government.

(g) *Predictions of the outbreak of war based upon the belief that the harvest is determined by the seed sown.* At this moment when the nations are again concentrating upon the suicidal business of mutual annihilation, it is startling to read prophetic words spoken by a minister of the gospel nearly a century ago. On January 11, 1852, Frederick W. Robertson, of Brighton, England, preached a memorable sermon in which he pronounced this scathing indictment upon competitive individualism: "Brethren, that which is built on selfishness cannot stand. The system of personal interest must be shivered into atoms. Therefore, we, who have observed the ways of God in the past, are waiting in quiet but awful expectation until He shall confound this system as He has confounded those which have gone before. And it may be effected by convulsions more terrible and more bloody than the world has yet seen. While men are talking of peace, and of the great progress of civilization, there is heard in the distance the noise of armies gathering rank on rank: east and west, north and south, are rolling towards us the crushing thunders of universal war." Remember, 1852!

Equally prophetic were the words of Woodrow Wilson before the Senate of the United States on January 22, 1917, in discussing terms of peace: ". . . it must be peace without victory. . . . I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation; under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand."



Frederick Robertson and Woodrow Wilson proved themselves to be true prophets because of the inexorable law of the harvest: whatsoever you sow, that you also reap. Roses are not gathered from thistles and violets do not spring from poison-ivy. "Every one ought to know," wrote W. Arnold-Forster, "as part of his historical equipment, how anarchic, how really lunatic, were the assumptions upon which responsible statesmen conducted international relations, at least so lately as twenty and thirty years ago. All the Foreign Offices were engaged in a deadly game of bluff and counter-bluff and genuine menace, with war as their ultimate instrument. The Kaiser described the game with refreshing condour when he wrote in 1899, apropos of The Hague discussions on arbitration, 'In practice I, at any rate, will henceforth rely and call upon God and my bright sword alone; and damn their resolutions.' The Kaiser was not alone: that is what they were all doing in greater or lesser degree—relying upon their own bright swords and their exclusive alliances with God."<sup>1</sup>

There is no mystery about the outbreak of this present war. Hitler is guilty. The aggression and ruthlessness of Germany precipitated the conflict. But the menacing power of Hitler was derived from the policies of France, Great Britain and other imperialist nations. Chamberlain and Daladier are now engaged in mortal combat with their fellow-sinner Hitler!

2. *By Deepening Understanding of the CONSEQUENCES of This War.* If the American people become convinced that this war will end war, abolish dictatorship, make the world safe for democracy, save civilization and preserve the Kingdom of God, the United States is likely to become a belligerent. Hope is essential to fighting morale and belligerent governments are deluging their own citizens and peoples of neutral lands with propaganda designed to produce the expectation that victory will bring a train of blessings. If we are to resist the appeal of these optimistic forecasts of the outcome of the war, we must draw heavily upon our store of experience gained during the World War and previous armed combats. Let us base our analysis upon the probability that Chamberlain was justified in expressing the judgment before the House of Commons that this war will continue for at least three years.

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<sup>1</sup> W. Arnold-Foster, *Problems of Peace*, 5th Series, p. 231.

What will happen if war on an ever-widening scale continues until the end of 1942?

(a) *Destruction of life and property.* The German armed forces will endeavor to destroy enemy property and life to the maximum degree through the use of explosives, fire, poison gas and blockade. And the British and the French will do likewise. Modern war is an armed conflict between entire populations waged with all the diabolical weapons forged by science. No effective differentiation is made between combatants and non-combatants, or between men and women.

An atrocity is an act of "great cruelty or reckless wickedness . . . a deed of violence of savagery . . . savage brutality." Thus defined, atrocities are inherent in the nature of armed conflict. Indeed, war itself is the supreme atrocity, since it is a continuous series of acts of barbaric violence and pitiless cruelty. Slaughter and massacre are as normal in warfare as love and devotion are in the home. During a state of belligerency, however, there is a tendency to apply the word atrocities only to deeds of enemies. Rarely are the acts of one's own troops, however destructive their nature, referred to as atrocities. Only the enemy commits savage brutalities.

During the World War, the regular and legal weapons of conflict were responsible for the shedding of vastly more blood and the causing of incredibly more misery than were occasioned by all "uncivilized" and "barbarous" practices. Yet kindly and benevolent people on both sides gloried in the victorious destructiveness of battle, while they grew livid with rage over reports of specific acts of cruelty by the enemy. Which is more terrible, to mangle and kill one hundred men with a gigantic shell from a distance of twenty miles, or to nail an enemy to a barn door with a bayonet? Why is it less barbaric to mow men down by the dozen with a machine gun than to gouge out the eyes of a foe? Why is it praiseworthy for a sharpshooter to pick off numerous victims daily and damnable for an enemy to stab a compatriot in the back? Which is ethically more heinous, to disembowel a foe with a bayonet or to mutilate a corpse? As long ago as 1855 a British writer inquired: "Why is it that we may slaughter twenty thousand men on the field of battle, or in a siege, but may not bayonet a wounded man, or put a prisoner to death? . . . Why may we lie in ambush in a forest, and massacre a regiment, or shoot a general down from some safe hiding place,

and yet not employ an assassin to slay the head and cause of the war?"<sup>1</sup>

The hardships and sufferings endured by the men at the front baffle description. The following word-pictures from the pen of Philip Gibbs, the greatest of British war correspondents, give only a faint idea of the miseries endured. "A few days after the battle began the rain began, and hardly ceased for four months. Night after night the skies opened and let down steady torrents which turned all that country into a great bog of slime. . . . Yet week after week, month after month, our masses of men . . . struggled on through that Slough of Despond . . . nothing that has been written is more than the pale image of the abomination of those battle-fields. . . . That was the devil's playground, and his chamber of horrors wherein he devised merry tortures for young Christian men. It was not far out of Ypres . . . only a rubble of bricks banked up with sandbags and deep mine-craters filled with stinking water. . . . Bodies, and bits of bodies, and clots of blood, and green, metallic-looking slime . . . our men lived there. . . . Lice crawled over them in legion. Human flesh, rotting and stinking, mere pulp, was pasted into the mud-banks. If they dug to get deeper cover, their shovels went into the softness of dead bodies who had been their comrades. Scraps of flesh, booted legs, blackened hands, eyeless heads, came falling over them when the enemy trench-mortared their position or blew up a new mine shaft. . . . Hooge is not a health resort. . . . Hell must be a game compared with that. . . .

"I saw one young Londoner, so smashed about the face that only his eyes were uncovered between layers of bandages. . . . Another had his jaw blown clean away . . . and the upper part of his face was livid and discoloured by explosive gases. A splendid boy of the Black Watch was but a living trunk. Both his arms and both his legs were shattered. If he lived after butcher's work of surgery, he would be one of those . . . from whom men turn their eyes away, sick with a sense of horror . . . the 'bad' cases were unloaded: men with chunks of steel in their lungs and bowels were vomiting great gobs of blood, men with arms and legs torn from their trunks, men without noses, and their brains throbbing through empty scalps, men without faces. . . .

<sup>1</sup> Charles Buxton, *The Limitations of the Severity in War*, Cambridge Essays, 1855, p. 110.



"Another misery came to torture soldiers in the line, and it was called 'trench foot.' Many men standing in slime for days and nights in field boots or puttees lost all sense of feeling in their feet. These feet of theirs, so cold and wet began to swell, and then to go 'dead' and then suddenly to burn as though touched by red-hot pokers . . . the medical officer cut off their boots and their puttees, and the socks that had become part of their skins, exposing blackened and rotting feet. . . . It was a sergeant-major whom I saw stricken badly with shell-shock. . . . He was convulsed with a dreadful rigor like a man in epilepsy, and clawed at his mouth moaning horribly, with livid terror in his eyes. . . . He had been a tall and splendid man, this poor terror-stricken lunatic. . . . He (another victim) stood outside a dug-out shaking in every limb, in a palsied way. His steel hat was at the back of his head, and his mouth slobbered, and two comrades could not hold him still. These badly shell-shocked boys clawed their mouths ceaselessly. . . .

"I went down flights of steps into German dug-outs . . . we had captured their work, and the dead bodies of their labourers lay in those dark caverns, killed by our bombers who had flung down hand-grenades. I drew back from those fat corpses. They looked monstrous, lying there crumpled up, amidst a foul litter of clothes, stink bombs, old boots, and bottles. . . . Victory! . . . Some of the German dead were young boys, and others . . . one could not tell because they had no faces and were just masses of raw flesh in rags of uniforms. Legs and arms lay separate without any bodies thereabouts. . . . The battles of Flanders ended . . . and that year's fighting on the Western Front cost us 800,000 casualties."<sup>1</sup>

The blockade is as ancient and as legal as warfare itself. The rules and regulations concerning its application varied from time to time, but the right of a belligerent to starve the enemy into submission was unquestioned. Battles are most devastating to soldiers, but blockades, of all atrocities, are the most calamitous to civilians. Slow starvation is accompanied by more extreme misery and more acute agony on the part of a vaster number of victims than follows the use of any other weapon.

<sup>1</sup> Philip Gibbs, *The Realities of War*, pp. 386, 387, 83, 84, 136, 148, 173, 174, 31, 299, 396.

During the war the people of the British Isles narrowly escaped a horrible fate. Only the superiority of their fleet and the magnitude of their merchant marine enabled them to withstand the submarine onslaught and thus ward off starvation. The people of Germany were not so successful. They were caught in the vise and squeezed until life became almost unbearable—for those who survived the agonizing ordeal. Throughout most of the war the Allied blockade of Germany was so rigorous that hundreds of thousands of Germans perished from malnutrition and its consequent diseases and from actual starvation. An appalling percentage of these victims were women and children, the aged and infirm.

Most terrible of all was the prolongation of the Allied blockade for *more than seven months after the Armistice*. So desperate was the fear of Germany and so bitter the hatred that the Allies did not lift the blockade until the Treaty of Versailles was signed on June 28, 1919. During the Armistice period certain assistance was grudgingly given, but the following comments indicate the prevailing temper: "It is amazing," said Ray Stannard Baker, "that two full months should elapse after the Armistice of November 11 before anything whatever was done to redeem the promise in the 26th clause of that Armistice: 'The Allies and the United States contemplate the provisioning of Germany during the Armistice as shall be found necessary.' . . . Hoover complained in his letter to the President, on February 4. . . . 'The French, by obstruction of every financial measure that we can propose to the feeding of Germany in the attempt to compel us to loan money to Germany for this purpose, have defeated every step so far for getting them the food which we have been promising for three months.'"<sup>1</sup>

Six weeks after the Armistice, when Germans and Austrians were enduring intolerable agonies from lack of food, Colonel House wrote in his diary: "Hoover and I had a long talk about relief matters. We are agreed that the Entente countries are taking a perfectly impossible stand. They are making it more difficult for Germany under peace conditions than it was under war. . . . We now have an enormous amount of food at Trieste, but it cannot be moved to Vienna because of the dif-

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<sup>1</sup> Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement*, Vol. 2, pp. 345, 346.

ficulties that are raised.”<sup>1</sup> Winston Churchill in an address in the House of Commons nearly four months after the Armistice, said: “. . . This weapon of starvation falls mainly upon the women and children, upon the old and the weak and the poor, after all the fighting has stopped.”<sup>2</sup> And yet he added that the blockade would continue to be severely enforced.

After referring to the report that 763,000 German civilians died as a result of the blockade. Colonel J. F. C. Fuller said: “The result of the ‘blockade’ in terms of human misery was unutterably dreadful, but as a measure of war it can only be described as a wonderful success.”<sup>3</sup> “The final effects of the blockade,” wrote Professor Parmalee, “will appear two decades hence when the children of Central Europe who have survived the war have attained adulthood. . . . It is to be expected that during the decade following 1940 there will be in Central Europe a high tuberculosis rate and other forms of morbidity. . . .”<sup>4</sup> The German Chancellor exclaimed: “. . . our children, and children’s children, will bear traces of the blockade that England enforced against us, a refinement of cruelty nothing less than diabolic.”<sup>5</sup>

Thousands of quotations justifying the method of starvation, similar to the following excerpt from the *Washington Star*, could easily be assembled: “The embargo hurts, and this is the purpose of an embargo. It is the stranglehold which will help in forcing Germany to her knees. The great pity is that it was not sooner resorted to. Starvation as a war measure is legitimate in that it has the sanctity of long usage.”<sup>6</sup>

The unrestricted submarine warfare caused many horrible atrocities. Giant liners were sunk without warning, with a terrible harvest of blood. While the total number of lives lost as a result of the use of undersea craft was not large as compared with battle casualties and deaths from malnutrition and starvation, the circumstances surrounding the sinking of great passenger ships, with the resultant murder of non-combatants, were so spectacular that the world was filled with horror.

<sup>1</sup> *The Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, edited by Charles Seymour, Vol. 4, p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Norman Angell, *The Fruits of Victory*, p. 169.

<sup>3</sup> J. F. C. Fuller, *The Foundations of the Science of War*, p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> M. Parmalee, *Blockade and Sea Power*, pp. 231, 232.

<sup>5</sup> Benthmann-Hollweg, *Reflections on the World War*, p. 158.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in the *Literary Digest*, October 27, 1917.



During the last three years of the war, the German air raids over the London area were carried out with an aggregate force of 13 Zeppelins and 128 aeroplanes, dropping in all about 300 tons of bombs. The total result was 224 fires, 174 buildings completely destroyed and 619 seriously damaged, a damage estimated in money at something over \$10,000,000.<sup>1</sup> By way of reprisal, Allied airmen frequently bombed Cologne and other German cities. A British officer writes that on one occasion "I got orders direct from the Admiralty to load up all machines and be ready to go over the nearest German town and bomb men, women and children," if the enemy failed to abandon the proposed execution of an English captain.<sup>2</sup> The policy of retaliation was defended by General Smuts, the famous South African statesman, in these words: "We are dealing with an enemy whose kultur has not carried him beyond the rudiments of the Mosaic law, and to whom you can only apply the maxim of 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.' On that principle we are now reluctantly forced to apply to him the bombing policy which he has applied to us."<sup>3</sup>

In the last year of the war *British air raids alone over Germany were "five times greater than the total number of German air raids on Great Britain during the four years of the war."* In the thirteen months preceding the armistice there were 709 raids into Germany, 374 on large defenseless towns.<sup>4</sup>

(b) *Spreading of falsehood and engendering of hatred.* Deceit and treachery are inherent in armed conflict. Hatred and enmity are invariable accompaniments of warfare. Persons who repeat the hoary sentiment that war cannot be abolished until the fighting instinct in man has been eradicated overlook certain highly relevant facts. Soldiers in sufficient numbers will not enlist in modern armies unless aroused to extreme fury. Moreover, the experience of all belligerent governments in the World War proved that where the policy of voluntary enlistment was tried it failed to secure the requisite number of troops. Conscription was absolutely necessary if the trenches were to be properly manned. Furthermore, coercion and intimidation were required in order to keep men at the fighting front even after they had been drafted and

<sup>1</sup> B. H. Liddell Hart, *Jaris*, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Halsbury, quoted in the *Army, Navy and Air Force Gazette*, March 14, 1929, p. 253.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in the *Literary Digest*, November 10, 1917.

<sup>4</sup> H. C. Peterson, *Propaganda For War*, p. 64.

indoctrinated with hatred. If the soldiers of the various armies had been permitted to follow their own desires and go home at will, the ranks would have been depleted to the point of debacle. Some soldiers fought for the pure love of combat, some willingly endured appalling hardships from a high sense of duty, but many more men were driven to battle by artificially created hatred and by fear of the terrifying pressure of public opinion.

Distortion and falsehood were constituent parts of the technique of creating hatred. It was necessary to convince potential soldiers and civilian supporters of the war that a vast gulf separated them from the debased and barbarous enemy. Continuous emphasis on the actual or alleged wickedness of the enemy was not enough; the real or imaginary virtues of one's own people must be constantly asserted. It is not easy to hate opponents if a man reasons this way: "He is certainly a cruel and inhuman foe, but after all we are not angels ourselves; perhaps we are all tarred with the same brush." Such a conclusion would prove fatal to fighting morale. The successful prosecution of the war, therefore, demanded that the enemy be painted asimps of darkness and one's own countrymen portrayed as heralds of light. The foundations of this undertaking had been laid in peace-time. An extensive paraphernalia of propaganda was already available in the respective nations. For many decades the process had been going on of exaggerating the faults and minimizing the virtues of other peoples, while dwelling upon the accomplishments and passing lightly over the failures of one's own countrymen.

All this machinery of distortion and misrepresentation was enormously expanded as soon as hostilities began.<sup>1</sup> Spies, eavesdroppers, wire-tappers, document forgers, photograph fakers, historical experts, and press writers in large numbers were put at the task of collecting and "preparing" evidence to substantiate the government's case. A severe censorship was instantly clamped on all news. The press was rigidly controlled by public officials. Recalcitrant journals were suspended, and offending editors counted themselves fortunate if they escaped imprisonment. All energies were directed toward the creation of a double impression: the enemy is guilty

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<sup>1</sup> See H. C. Peterson, *Propaganda For War*, for an impressive account of British propaganda in the United States.

of every barbarous inhumanity and stands outside the pale of civilized society, while we and our allies are incarnations of nobility and defendants of every high value.

Special bureaus or departments of propaganda were established by all belligerent governments with the purpose of creating and maintaining that type of public opinion which would demand a knock-out blow. The propaganda section in the United States was called *The Committee on Public Information*. "We did not call it propaganda," wrote Mr. George Creel, its executive director, "for that word, in German hands, had come to be associated with deceit and corruption." Every available means of reaching the public mind was used; not less than 75 million books and pamphlets were circulated, some 75,000 Four-Minute Men made 755,190 speeches urging support of the war, syndicated stories were prepared and widely distributed throughout the country, moving picture films and features were used on an extensive scale. 200,000 stereopticon slides were made available, the billboards of the nation were covered with posters, war exhibits were arranged, mass meetings were held.

Lies are as much a part of a nation's wartime equipment as guns and shrapnel. Men who in a private capacity are the soul of integrity often tell the grossest falsehoods on behalf of country.<sup>1</sup> Truth is one of the mortally wounded victims of war. Hatred is as inevitable in armed combat between nations as artillery bombardments and bayonet charges across no man's land.

The benumbing moral effect of continuous observation of bloodshed and death has been emphasized by many writers on the war. "All who have been in battle," said Hamilton Fyfe, "or in the neighborhood of vast slaughters know how quickly the mind becomes callous to the sights and sounds of suffering and death. The first cart of dead that I saw in August, 1914, filled me with pity and shame. The stiff limbs that stuck out in all directions from the mass of corpses, the hands which seemed lifted in mute protest, the white faces with closed or terribly wide-open eyes, sent a shudder through me. In a few days I paid no more heed to a cart of dead bodies than to a cart of mud."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Bryce report on atrocities has been characterized as "itself one of the worst atrocities of the war." Peterson, *ibid*, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by W. C. Allen, *War*, p. 55.



(c) *Corruption of religion.* Peoples who believe in the righteousness of their cause and in the legitimacy of the method of war are likely to attribute to God warlike characteristics and to pray for victory. Their God is a God of battles who blesses their use of explosives, fire, poison gas, and starvation-blockade. On the first Sunday after the outbreak of the present war, a British clergyman declared that Hitler "will find that he has not only France and England to reckon with but Our Lord as well." And this preacher added that Great Britain "did not draw the sword for any material gain but simply to preserve the doctrines of Christianity."<sup>1</sup>

Throughout the World War worship of the God of Jesus, Father of all mankind whose sun shines and whose rains descend alike upon the just and the unjust, was largely supplanted by adoration of tribal war gods.<sup>2</sup> The great principles upon which Jesus based his gospel—the brotherhood of man; the infinite worth of personality, even of wrongdoers; the overcoming of evil with good; the avoidance of hatred and revenge; the duty of love toward enemies; the obligation of forgiveness until seventy times seven; the voluntary suffering of the innocent on behalf of the guilty—all these were quickly passed by or laid away until a convenient season. More texts were selected from the imprecatory psalms than from the Sermon on the Mount. "Fight the Good Fight" and "Onward Christian Soldiers" were much more popular hymns than "Dear Lord and Father of Mankind" and "When I Survey the Wonderous Cross." The churches, with few exceptions, identified themselves with the national cause and gave their blessing to instruments of war.

"*The complete representative of the American Church in France is the United States Army overseas,*" exclaimed George Parkin Atwater. "Yes, an army, with its cannon and rifles and machine guns, and its instruments of destruction. The Church militant, sent, morally equipped, strengthened and encouraged, approved and blessed, by the Church at home. The army today is the Church in action, transforming the will of the Church into deeds, expressing the moral judgment of the Church in smashing blows. Its worship has its vigil in the trenches, and its fasts and feasts; its prayers are in acts, and

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Donald Davidson, quoted in the *New York Times*, September 4, 1939.

<sup>2</sup> See Ray H. Abrams, *Preachers Present Arms*.

its choir is the crash of cannon and the thrilling ripple of machine guns. . . ."<sup>1</sup>

The extent to which clergymen went in creating hatred is revealed in the outburst of Dr. Newell Dwight Hillis: "Society has organized itself against the rattlesnake and the yellow fever. Shepherds have entered into a conspiracy to exterminate the wolves. The Boards of Health are planning to wipe out typhoid, cholera and the black plague. Not otherwise, lovers of their fellow men have finally become perfectly hopeless with reference to the German people. They have no more relation to the civilization of 1918 than an orang-outang, a gorilla, a Judas, a hyena, a thumbscrew, or a scalping knife in the hands of a savage. These brutes must be cast out of society. . . . We know that Tacitus said, nearly two thousand years ago, that 'the German treats women with cruelty, tortures his enemies, and associates kindness with weakness.' But nineteen centuries of education have not changed the Germans one whit. . . . In utter despair, therefore, statesmen, generals, diplomats, editors are now talking about the duty of simply exterminating the German people. There will shortly be held a meeting of surgeons in this country. A copy of the preliminary call lies before me. The plan to be discussed is based upon the Indiana State law. That law authorizes a State Board of Surgeons to use upon the person of confirmed criminals and hopeless idiots the new painless method of sterilizing the men. These surgeons are preparing to advocate the calling of a world conference to consider the sterilization of 10,000,000 German soldiers and the segregation of their women, that when this generation of Germans goes, civilized cities, states and races may be rid of this awful cancer that must be cut clean out of the body of society. . . . It is our duty to forgive the transgressor who is repentant but it is a crime to forget the unspeakable atrocities of the German Kaiser, the German War Staff, and the German army."<sup>2</sup>

(d) *After-effects: (1) Another Treaty of Versailles.* The appalling devastation of war does not end with an armistice but continues until the third and fourth generations and beyond. The victors will insist upon terms of peace which will

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<sup>1</sup> George Parkin Atwater, quoted in the *American Mercury*, February, 1927. Italics mine.

<sup>2</sup> Newell Dwight Hillis, *The Blot on the Kaiser's 'Scutcheon*.

remove the threat to their own security. These terms are likely to be as severe as the victors have power to impose. One wishes that he might be convinced by the argument that Great Britain and France, since they are fighting for idealistic reasons, will be magnanimous after they have smashed Hitler and negotiate a just peace. Unfortunately, there is no solid basis for this hope. The belligerent peoples will sustain such appalling losses of life and property; they will become so brutalized by instruction in the science of human slaughter; moral and spiritual sensitivities will be so deadened by fear and anguish and hatred that nothing less than a knock-out blow will suffice. The likelihood of another Carthaginian peace is ten times as great as the probability of a magnanimous and just treaty. "Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand."<sup>1</sup>

(d) *After-effects: (2) Continued dictatorship in some belligerent countries.* Never let the fact be forgotten that the dictatorships of Germany, Italy and Russia resulted directly from the World War. Another war should not be required to teach us the obvious and inescapable truth that totalitarianism cannot be ended by totalitarizing its threatened victims. The very nature of modern war necessitates the abrogation of democracy as an essential condition of success. At least temporarily democratic processes must be set aside by nations that go to war against powerful enemies. Too much emphasis cannot be placed upon the fact that war has become a combat of entire peoples against entire peoples and that all the resources of a nation must be thrown into the struggle for victory. Totalitarianism is the very essence of war in our time.

In every great nation this fact constitutes the cornerstone of preparedness for war. The War Department and the Navy Department of the United States have collaborated in preparing and publishing a comprehensive Industrial Mobilization Plan.<sup>2</sup> This proposal was subjected to detailed analysis by the Special Committee on Investigation of the Munitions In-

<sup>1</sup> Woodrow Wilson, Jan. 22, 1917.

<sup>2</sup> This document may be secured for 15 cents from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.



dustry (the Nye Committee).<sup>1</sup> From the Nye Committee's report the following comments are taken:

"The committee finds that under this bill a strict censorship of the press is possible, and finds such censorship undesirable.

"The committee finds that this bill would give the President the power to fix wages throughout the country and that such fixing of wages could not, in fact, be accompanied by equally successful limitation of prices or profits, and that, in effect, the employees under this bill and under S. 1721, taken together, would suffer unequally as against owners and management. . . . S. 1721 is a proposed bill for a draft of men into military service which also allows for the extension of military control over all male citizens above 18 years of age in industry or elsewhere. . . .

"The industrial mobilization plan sets up as a controller of labor an administrator of labor who is to be an outstanding industrial leader.

"The war industries administration does not provide for any labor representation at all, except on an advisory council which has neither authority nor actual responsibility.

"S. 1721 and the industrial mobilization plan puts the entire male population of the Nation under military control by giving the War Department the power to cancel the deferment of men not inducted into the military force in case such men do not work 'continuously' in such places (at such wages as are fixed under S. 1717) as the Government finds they should work, under penalty of being drafted into military service or being cut off from food, fuel, and the other necessities of life.

"The committee finds that S. 1721, which puts all male labor under registration and provides for such penalties and also for courts martial in case any of the registrants 'fail or neglect fully to perform any duty required of him' *can be used to effect and enforce a draft of labor* and to remove, in effect, the right of any laborer to refuse employment in private industry under conditions or at wages which do not satisfy his needs. The power to call into military service any union or other representatives of labor who become spokesmen for other employees in attempts to secure higher wages, is *the power to break strikes*. This can also be done through the use of military force in removing the spokesman from the plant involved to

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<sup>1</sup> *Munitions Industry*, Report No. 944, Part 4. Italics in this section are mine.

other plants or into active service or cutting off the food allowances of all strikers.

"There is nothing in S. 1721 to prevent the use of men in the military forces to operate industrial plants while in uniform, which was done in at least one case in the last war. There is also nothing to prevent the War Department from inducting all the workers in any plant in the country into military service, *forcing them to work in that plant under military orders.* . . .

"The draft of men for the trenches will not, under the War Department plans, be lifted *until 6 months after such time as the President chooses to declare an end to the emergency.* The draft of labor, under one name or another, will continue for the same length of time. During all this period there will be censorship of the press."

(d) *After-effects: (3) Possible civil war in some belligerent countries.*

There is little reason to believe that wartime abrogation of democracy will be temporary. Highly significant is the provision in the Industrial Mobilization Plan that conscription does not end with the armistice, but not until six months after the President shall have declared the emergency to be over. What emergency? War ends with an armistice. Why the provisions about six months after the termination of the emergency?

The fact that wartime centralization of power proved to be temporary in several belligerent countries and was abandoned soon after the armistice should not produce undue optimism about the future. Judgments based upon the experience of the older democracies during and following the World War may prove to be misleading. In the intervening years the class conflict has become more intense in all industrial countries, with the result that the present war will deepen the cleavage within the respective belligerent nations.

There is abundant reason to anticipate the outbreak of civil war in belligerent countries in the event of a prolonged international conflict; or at least the possibility of civil war will be so serious that vested interests will be reluctant to relinquish the highly centralized powers of wartime. Perhaps this thought was in the minds of the drafters of the Industrial Mobilization Plan when they inserted the provision about six months after the termination of the emergency. In commenting upon prevailing trends, Harold J. Laski says: ". . . war

means the creation all over Europe of either communistic dictatorships in alliance with Russia, or Fascist dictatorship in alliance with great business enterprise, which thirty years ago in this country, Jack London admirably called 'The Iron Heel'; . . . parliamentary government is incompatible with the possibilities that emerge out of the prospect of war. . . . May I say, without one moment's hesitation, that in my judgment, constitutional government offers prospects of good to modern society that are unequalled by any alternative, that the weapons that are now at the disposal of violence are so disastrous in their impact that if they are utilized, civilization may easily become a legend."<sup>1</sup>

If the American people were really awake to the suicidal consequences of modern war, they would stay out of the present holocaust. Former President Herbert Hoover, in a vivid article in *The American Magazine*, August, 1939, presented convincing testimony concerning the real nature of warfare in our time: "I witnessed the misery and backwash from war in their most hideous forms. . . . Amid the afterglow of glory and legend we forget the filth, the stench, the death, of the trenches. We forget the dumb grief of mothers, wives, and children. We forget the unending blight cast upon the world by the sacrifice of the flower of every race.

"I was one of but few civilians who saw something of the Battle of the Somme. In the distant view were the unending trenches filled with a million and a half men. Here and there, like ants, they advanced under the thunder and belching volcanoes from 10,000 guns. Their lives were thrown away until half a million had died. Passing close by were unending lines of men plodding along the right side of the road to the front, not with drums and bands, but with saddened resignation. Down the left side came the unending lines of wounded men, staggering among unending stretchers and ambulances. . . .

"And there was another side no less dreadful. I hesitate to recall even to my own mind the nightmares of roads filled for long miles with old men, young women, and little children dropping of fatigue and hunger as they fled in terror from burning villages and oncoming armies. And over Europe these were not just a few thousands, but over the long years that scene was enacted in millions.

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<sup>1</sup> Harold J. Laski and Dr. Josef Redlich *The Decline of Parliamentary Government*, pp. 10, 11.



"And there was the ruthless killing of civilians, executed by firing squads who justified their acts, not by processes of justice, but on mere suspicion of transgression of the laws of war. Still worse was the killing of men, women, and even children to project terror and cringing submission. To the winds went every sense of tolerance. To the winds went every sense of mercy. The purpose of every army is to win. They are not put together for afternoon teas. They are not made up to bring good cheer or justice or tolerance. They are made up of men sent out to kill or be killed. Whatever the theory, the act that wins is justified in war.

"And there were the terrors of the air. In a score of air raids I saw the terror of women and children flocking to the cellars, frantically, to escape from an unseen enemy.

"In another even more dreadful sense I saw inhuman policies of war. That was the determination on both sides to bring subjection by starvation. The food blockade by the Allied Governments on the one side, and the ruthless submarine warfare by the Central Powers on the other, had this as its major purpose. Both sides professed that it was not their purpose to starve women and children. But it is an idiot who thinks soldiers ever starve. It was women and children who died of starvation. It was they who died of the disease which came from short food supplies, not in hundreds of thousands, but in millions.

"And after the Armistice came famine and pestilence, in which millions perished and other millions grew up stunted in mind and body. That is war. . . .

". . . we can never go through another great war without becoming a totalitarian state in order to effectively fight such a war. When we have finished we shall not have established peace in the world. *We shall have sacrificed liberty for generations in the United States.* . . .

"We hear much of laws that will preserve our neutrality. But the question is not legalisms. It is our will to stay out. Staying out is a matter of tactics and strategy almost as difficult as the strategy and tactics of war. And, if there is not the adamant will to stay out, no amount of law can keep us out. The first thing required is vigorous, definite statement from all who have responsibility, both publicly and privately, that we are not going to war with anybody in Europe unless they attack the Western Hemisphere."

(3) *By Helping to Form a Sound Foreign Policy for the United States.* War is precipitated by governmental action and war can be averted only by governmental action. In a democracy foreign policy is profoundly influenced by public opinion. Decisions of officials are determined by the relative weight of pressure brought to bear upon them in favor of alternative procedures. The nature of our foreign policy is now a matter of life and death to the citizens of this country: therefore, the formation of sound and resolute public opinion is all-important. What principles should constitute the cornerstone of our dealings with belligerent nations?

(a) *A new attitude toward neutral rights.* The old idea was that powerfully armed neutral countries must go to war if necessary in order to uphold neutral rights in war zones, whereas the new attitude required is that neutral governments warn their citizens that all trade and all travel in war zones is at the risk of the trader or traveler. This new attitude has several times been reflected by President Roosevelt and should be adopted officially as the continuing policy of this nation. During the Ethiopian crisis, the President on October 5, 1935, issued a proclamation in which he said: "I do hereby give notice that any citizen of the United States who may travel on such a vessel, contrary to the provisions of said Joint Resolution, will *do so at his own risk*." On October 5th the President issued a statement through the State Department which ended with this warning: "In these specific circumstances I desire it to be understood that any of our people who voluntarily engage in transactions of any character with either of the belligerents do so at their own risk."<sup>1</sup> On October 10th Secretary Hull said: "The warning given by the President in his proclamation concerning travel on belligerent ships and his general warning that during the war any of our people who voluntarily engage in transactions of any character with either of the belligerents *do so at their own risk* were based upon the policy and purpose of keeping this country out of war—keeping it from being drawn into war."

In a subsequent statement the President said: "By my public statement of October fifth, which was emphasized by the Secretary of State on October tenth, *we have warned American citizens against transactions of any character with either of the belligerent nations except at their own risk*." This policy was

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<sup>1</sup> Italics mine in this section.

re-affirmed by Secretary Hull in his Note to the President of the Committee of Coordination of the League of Nations, as follows: "In addition to the three measures just mentioned, the President took a fourth and most important step by issuing a public statement definitely warning American citizens against transactions of any character with either of the belligerent nations except *at their own risk*."

The trader and traveler must assume the risk of sending goods into war zones or going personally into such areas insisted President Roosevelt in his message to Congress on September 21, 1939: ". . . making it clear to all Americans that any such travel is at their own risk . . . making it clear that if credits are granted by American citizens to belligerents our government will take no steps in the future to relieve them of risk or loss . . . this government clearly and definitely will insist that American citizens and American ships keep away from the immediate perils of the actual zones of conflict. . . . I believe that American merchant vessels should, so far as possible, be restricted from entering danger zones. . . . The second objective is to prevent American citizens from traveling on belligerent vessels, or in danger areas."

An even more advanced stand was taken by the President when he favored restricting exports to belligerents to the average of such sales in peacetime. This important point is emphasized by Dulles and Armstrong: "Passing beyond the original warning that American traders could not expect to receive government support if they got into trouble over shipments of goods to warring nations, the State Department adopted the position that such trade should definitely be discouraged and restricted. On October 30 (three days before the League fixed on November 18 as the date for starting sanctions against Italy, but when Geneva dispatches already indicated that a date was about to be set), the President issued a statement in which he made clear that he favored restricting exports to belligerents to the average of such sales in normal times. He said in part: "This Government is determined not to become involved in the controversy and is anxious for the restoration and maintenance of peace. However, in the course of war, tempting trade opportunities may be offered to our people to supply materials which would prolong the war. I do not believe that the American people will wish for abnormally increased profits that temporarily might be secured by



greatly extending our trade in such materials; nor would they wish the struggles on the battlefield to be prolonged because of profits accruing to a comparatively small number of American citizens'.<sup>1</sup>

During the crisis in China, the President on September 5, 1937, told reporters: "All the 7,780 Americans in China have been strongly urged to get out and any who remain after that warning do so at their own risk."<sup>2</sup>

The significance of this new attitude is more clearly revealed when contrasted with the policy adhered to by the United States during the World War. There is much cumulative evidence that President Wilson was obsessed with the idea that American rights must be maintained even if this insistence dragged us into war. This conviction is set forth in a letter to Senator Stone: ". . . if the clear rights of American citizens should ever unhappily be abridged or denied . . . we should, it seems to me, have in honor no choice as to what our own course should be. . . . We covet peace and shall preserve it at any cost but the loss of honor. To forbid our people to exercise their rights for fear we might be called upon to vindicate them would be a deep humiliation indeed." In discussing the popular demand for firmness in upholding American rights and the even more popular demand that he keep America out of war, the President, in Milwaukee said: ". . . there may at any moment come a time when I cannot preserve both the honor and the peace of the United States. Do not exact of me an impossible and contradictory thing." This basic idea was put bluntly in a note from the secretary of state to the American ambassador in Berlin: "No matter what England does to Germany or Germany to England, our rights are unaltered and we cannot abate them in the least." These words merely voiced patriotic sentiment throughout the nation.

*Official adoption in permanent legislation* and resolute adherence to the new policy in relation to neutral rights is imperative if the United States is to be kept out of war. Let the policy be enacted into law, proclaimed and supported by determined public opinion: *travel in war zones at your own risk! trade with belligerents at your own risk!*

(b) *Prevention or reduction of provocative incidents.* It is not enough to proclaim the policy of warning citizens to

<sup>1</sup> Allen W. Dulles and Hamilton Fish Armstrong, *Can We Be Neutral?* pp. 68-69.

<sup>2</sup> *New York Times*, September 7, 1937.

travel and trade at their own risk. Drastic restrictions must be placed on travel in war zones by American citizens. To the utmost degree practicable our citizens must be kept out of war zones because losses of life of Americans will drive this nation closer to the brink of war. Fortunately, this danger is recognized and the State Department has already placed drastic restrictions upon travel in war zones by Americans. The existing law forbids absolutely travel by citizens of the United States on ships of belligerent nations. The extreme importance of this provision is emphasized by the reminder that prior to the break in diplomatic relations with Germany on February 3, 1917, *only three lives had been lost on American vessels*.<sup>1</sup> "It was not the treatment accorded American vessels by the submarine that prompted the government to issue ultimata, nor was it the loss of lives on American vessels. It was the logical, but legally untenable, extension of a 1914 blunder that led to the strange warping of the doctrine of freedom of the seas whereby the United States undertook to protect Americans traveling, of their own volition, on the ships of Germany's enemies—ships that had been ordered to risk themselves and their cargoes, human and material, by resort to force; ships that sacrificed their immunities as peaceful merchantmen."<sup>2</sup>

The provisions in our present law prohibiting the arming of American merchant marine; prohibiting American ships from carrying munitions and other war supplies to any belligerent country; and prohibiting belligerent ships from using American ports as base of supplies are all designed to reduce provocative incidents and should be retained on the statute book as a permanent policy, in spite of terrific pressure to abrogate them as the belligerents become more desperate.

(c) *Reduce entanglements in war trade to the lowest possible level.* The most desirable policy would in my opinion include these provisions: (1) absolute prohibition of the sale and shipment to belligerent nations of all munitions and war "supplies"; (2) sale and shipment of other commodities to belligerents to be limited to a volume equivalent to average purchases during a five-year peacetime period; (3) sale of these peacetime quotas to be only on a cash-and-carry basis, namely that payments be made in cash, title transferred to the purchaser, and commodities to be transported in non-

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<sup>1</sup> Edwin Borchard and William Potter Lage, *Neutrality for the United States*, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 225.

American ships, and at the risk of the purchaser; (4) together with an absolute prohibition of loans to belligerent governments and their citizens by the government and citizens of the United States. If these provisions were adopted and maintained, the economic and financial entanglements of this country in war trade could be kept at a minimum.

*The dangers inherent in wartime trade were eloquently presented by President Roosevelt in his Chautauqua address on August 14, 1936:* "Industrial and agricultural production for a war market may give immense fortunes to a few men; for the nation as a whole it produces disaster. It was the prospect of war profits that made our farmers in the west plow up prairie land that should never have been plowed, but should have been left for grazing cattle. Today we are reaping the harvest of those war profits in the dust storms which have devastated those war plowed areas. It was the prospect of war profits that caused the extension of monopoly and unjustified expansion of industry and a price level so high that the normal relationship between debtor and creditor was destroyed.

"Nevertheless, if war should break out again in another continent, let us not blink the fact that we would find in this country thousands of Americans who, seeking immediate riches—fools' gold—would attempt to break down or evade our neutrality. They would tell you—and, unfortunately, their views would get wide publicity—that if they could produce and ship this and that and the other article to belligerent nations, the unemployed of America would all find work. They would tell you that if they could extend credit to warring nations that credit would be used in the United States to build homes and factories and pay our debts. They would tell you that America once more would capture the trade of the world.

"It would be hard to resist that clamor; it would be hard for many Americans, I fear, to look beyond—to realize the inevitable penalties, the inevitable day of reckoning that comes from a false prosperity. To resist the clamor of that greed, if war should come, would require the unswerving support of all Americans who love peace. *If we face the choice of profits or peace, the Nation will answer—must answer—'we choose peace.'* It is the duty of all of us to encourage such a body of public opinion in this country that the answer will be clear and for all practical purposes unanimous."<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Italics mine.



If it is not politically possible to obtain or retain all the provisions required to keep entanglement in war trade at the lowest level, we must continue to urge the extreme desirability of maintaining a policy which will to the utmost practicable degree prevent citizens of this country from being bound with cords of gold and steel and wheat to the fortunes in war of Great Britain and France. Fortunately, there is no possibility that our citizens will engage in substantial war-trade with Germany. There is, however, an appalling danger that our own industries may be expanded to such an extent in filling war orders for Great Britain and France that our government will repeal the present provision prohibiting loans to belligerents in order that credits may be extended with which to continue purchases, until our financial and economic stake is so titanic that we will feel impelled to enter the war to insure victory for our debtors.

(b) *Sharing economic and political advantages with handicapped countries.* While this suicidal war continues it will, of course, be impossible to inaugurate a constructive program of removing the causes of international hostility. But even now we must carry on the process of forming public opinion concerning a post-armistice policy. Experts have long agreed upon the most urgent provisions of the required economic program: remove or reduce barriers to international trade and stabilize currencies, thus enabling handicapped countries through sales in foreign markets to buy from abroad the commodities they lack. Highly industrialized countries which are deficient in their own supplies of essential raw materials must obtain these necessities from other lands by purchase or by gift or by theft. It is possible to follow the peaceful pathway of purchase only by selling goods abroad and rendering service to foreigners. High tariffs and other barriers to purchasing markets, therefore, have the effect of strangling and suffocating handicapped countries. The British Empire, the United States and Soviet Russia exercise dominant control of many of the earth's resources. It is imperative, therefore, that they open the channels of international trade by affording equitable access to their rich purchasing markets, thus enabling deficient countries to obtain the commodities they must have or perish.

That the lowering of American tariffs would be beneficial to the nations which desperately need access to our market is apparent. But what would be the effects upon the United States? The answer is that various groups in this country would be affected in different ways. This obvious fact is frequently ig-

nored in discussions of the tariff. Many American newspapers concentrate their attention on a single group, with the result that the picture they present is utterly distorted. That some American producers and workers would, at least temporarily, lose profits and jobs if large quantities of foreign goods are bought by their fellow citizens is obvious. But three other groups of Americans are affected in an opposite way. Some American producers and workers will gain profits and find jobs because of purchases made in this country with the funds received by foreigners from the sale of their goods here. Many essential commodities can be bought more favorably in the United States than elsewhere. If therefore foreigners can secure dollars from the sale of their own goods to us they will eagerly make purchases here. And to this extent our producers and workers are benefited.

Americans as consumers will also receive benefits from the lower prices of foreign goods sold in this country. Every tariff is a form of taxation of the consumer. Except where tariffs are imposed for purely revenue purposes, the very objective is to help maintain high prices. That the net effect of high tariffs is to increase prices to consumers is unquestionable. Americans as citizens will likewise be benefited by the diminishing of international tensions produced by increased prosperity in the handicapped countries. Ethically sensitive individuals will also take into account the effects of our high tariffs upon the peoples of the more distressed areas. Even if high tariffs do not cause war, they surely do increase the economic burdens resting upon the backs of millions of human beings in other lands. The fixing of tariff schedules with the single objective of increasing our own gain, without regard to disastrous consequences for other peoples, is an immoral practice.

(c) *Reduction of empires by extending areas of self-government, federation of equal commonwealths, and the mandate system.* Public opinion must be prepared for the task of reducing empires at the end of this war and extending the zone of free government. The colonial system may be brought to an end by granting complete independence or by a genuinely international administration of mandates. The British Dominions are now almost entirely self-governing, with the privilege of withdrawing from the British Commonwealth of Nations if they should ever so desire. India should quickly be given full status as a dominion, or granted complete independence outside the British Commonwealth if this alternative is desired by

the Indian people. The Philippine Islands should be granted complete independence, without reservations of naval bases by the United States and with economic agreements which are favorable to the Filipinos during a period of adjustment.

Certain backward regions of the earth may well be treated as mandates and administered by a genuinely international body in the interests of the peoples of these lands. The mandate system of the League of Nations constitutes a long step in the right direction but at present is characterized by grave weaknesses. It was devised as a means of dealing with Germany's former colonies and with parts of Turkey which were detached at the end of the war.

Under a satisfactory system, the mandate would be administered by an international body rather than by an imperialist power. The chief weakness of the prevailing system is found in the fact that a single nation acts as mandatory for a backward area.

Notwithstanding its handicaps and weaknesses, the mandate system is a vast improvement over the older forms of colonial imperialism. It needs to be improved and extended. In summarizing its advantages, Professor Wright says: "The system has already resulted in wider recognition of the principle of trusteeship, that dependencies should be administered in the interests of their inhabitants in the principle of tutelage, that the cultivation of a capacity for self-government is such an interest; of the principle of international mandate, that states are responsible to the international community for the exercise of power over backward peoples even if that responsibility is not fully organized."<sup>1</sup>

The intolerable character of the old system has been vividly outlined by Professor Leonard Barnes of the University of Liverpool: "An empire as a form of political organization is subject all the time to three kinds of friction, three kinds of strain. First there is the resentment and the incipient revolt of the oppressed peoples in the colonies. Second, there is the friction generated between the controlling power and the other powers who exercise or hope to exercise rival imperial controls themselves. And third, there is the class struggle waged by those wage-earners at home who are largely excluded from the benefits of the imperial system and of the economic order generally. Empire has always to resist these three destructive

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<sup>1</sup> Quincy Wright, *Mandates Under the League of Nations*, p. 588.



forces which challenge it from within and from without. . . . I submit there is a far more plausible and far simpler explanation than the special immorality of foreign nations, and that is the existence of exclusive armed commercial empires in the world. Take the British Empire, which most of us here happen to know best. Ever since the last war we have been busy organizing the Empire in accordance with an economic scheme by which the 65 millions or so of its white-skinned members have arranged for the systematic exploitation of its 430 millions of dark-skinned members. The Empire as it stands today is a plutocracy governed by a small white minority at the expense of an immense colored majority which lives for the most part at a level of primary poverty. Not only do we stand in those relations inside the Empire, but we have at the same time been building round the outside of it a wall more and more formidable of tariff restrictions, quota arrangements, embargoes, and the rest. We have been doing out best to exclude foreign nations from the benefits of economic and commercial contact with the coloured members of the Empire . . . . our old-fashioned and out-dated Empires are threatening the world's peace. If you want to build up the guarantees of a stable peace based on agreement, I submit that you are obliged to attempt the reorganization of those Empires, . . . . by reference to the old destructive aim of exclusive national advantage."<sup>1</sup>

On the voyage to the Peave Conference, President Wilson suggested that "The German colonies should be declared the common property of the League of Nations and administered by small nations. The resources of each colony should be available to all members of the League." Because the victors were unwilling to take this step, they subjected Germany, Italy and Japan to powerful stimulus to acquire additional territories for themselves. The great imperialist powers cannot end the looting system until they are willing to apply the mandate principle to the backward territories now in their own possession as the result of past conquests.

(d) *Strengthen international agencies of justice and move toward union of nations.* National sovereignty must be sufficiently abridged to make possible the effective functioning of world organizations. So long as each nation attempts to determine its own basic policies without due regard for the interests of other countries, international friction will hold the peoples

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<sup>1</sup> Leonard Barnes, *Problems of Peace*, 11th Series, pp. 183, 184, 197.

of the earth on the edge of the war-precipice. Year by year the degree of interdependence is becoming more extreme. The growth of industrialism and advances in the spheres of transportation and communication have made it impossible for the respective peoples to live aloof from the rest of the world. Exports and imports are the life-blood of industrialized and urbanized nations. Points of contact are therefore multiplying and occasions of quarrels are increasing. Imperialism offers no road of escape but rather leads straight to war. Mutual cooperation through world organization is absolutely essential.

International agreement, international administration and international adjudication are essential to the maintenance of world peace. World government in any marked degree similar to the Federal Government of the United States cannot be established within the near future, so deep rooted is the concept of national sovereignty and so virulent are national antagonisms. But the minimum requirements of the present situation are the limitation of national sovereignty and the acquiring of the habit of international cooperation.

The havoc being wrought by the prevailing dogma of national sovereignty can scarcely be exaggerated. Even a moment's sober reflection makes clear the menacing character of the doctrine that a nation is an ultimate political entity exercising the right to determine its own course of action without restraint from any external source. For surely it is obvious that in an interdependent world, with humanity divided into some sixty units, the conflict of interests among unrestrained nations leads to war. The full significance of this fact was hidden from the pre-war generation partly because the pioneering period of world expansion had not completely ended, and partly because the great powers of Europe had refrained from war with each other for four decades. But it will be criminal blindness if we longer refuse to look the present situation squarely in the face and then act upon the basis of understanding.

The tenacity with which the nations cling to the dogma of national sovereignty and the zeal with which they seek isolation and self-sufficiency are responsible for the tragic weakness of the League of Nations. We now recognize the folly of blaming the Continental Congress of the thirteen states for its impotence in the hour of crisis. It was the doctrine of state sovereignty which paralyzed cooperative action. And so today national sovereignty has strangled the effort to prevent war. And upon no country must heavier responsibility be placed than

upon the United States. In smug complacency our people are doing their full share in perpetuating the armed anarchy that now threatens to destroy civilization. Long ago the United States should have joined the League of Nations and helped to strengthen Article 19 which provides for peaceable change of intolerable situations.

(e) *Cooperate with other neutrals in initiating efforts to obtain an early and just peace.* Some day the present war will be ended by an armistice. Then it will be necessary to negotiate peace. The sooner that peace is negotiated, the less disastrous will be the blow dealt to civilization. If the war is ended by a knock-out blow, an annihilating treaty will be imposed upon the vanquished. The words of Woodrow Wilson, in the same address in which he pointed out the disastrous consequences of a peace based upon victory, are now highly relevant; "Only a peace between equals can last. Only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right state of mind, the right feeling between nations, is as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of vexed questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance."<sup>1</sup> The longer fighting continues, the more will the right state of mind, the right feeling between nations be destroyed.

*The worst thing that can happen to the people of Europe is for this war to continue for three or four or ten years.* In that event not only will all the belligerent nations probably be transformed into totalitarian countries governed by ruthless dictators, but the very foundations of orderly society will probably be undermined to such a degree that chaos and civil war will decimate these lands. An early negotiated peace treaty would be highly imperfect but it would be infinitely preferable to the universal destruction of life and liberty through a long war. Therefore, the people of the United States should urge their government to cooperate fully with other neutrals in initiating efforts to obtain an early and just peace.

4. *By Helping to Preserve Civil Liberties and to Strengthen Democracy Within the United States.* Domestic policy also is important and especially in time of international crisis our citizens must safeguard their heritage of liberty and democracy.

(a) *Maintenance of freedom of speech, press, assembly and organization.* In times of social convulsion powerful vested in-

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<sup>1</sup> January 22, 1917.

terests attempt to preserve the status quo by suppressing opposition. If the liberties of the people of this land are destroyed through fascist dictatorship, the stages of the journey are likely to be these: increasing misery, diminishing ability to provide relief, mounting insurgency on the part of victims, increasing fear on the part of the owning class and hardening determination to preserve vested interests by resorting to whatever degree of suppression that may be required, increasing recklessness in creating a red scare by labeling opponents of the status quo as subversive agitators, rapid multiplication of false messiahs peddling nostrums and panaceas with consequent popular disillusionment and despair, heightening resentment and more explosive insurgency by desperate men, sounding the alarm by terrified owners that dictatorship offers the only escape from communism, the seizing of power by a patriotic coalition in the name of Americanism and idealism, and the establishment of "a temporary dictatorship for the period of the emergency."

The degree of docility hitherto manifested by the unemployed and the exploited is almost incomprehensible. Nevertheless the owning class has been thrown into paroxysms of fear by the minimum insurgency shown by the victims. Defenders of the status quo are diligent in labeling all dissenters as reds and communists. The following terms are being used as synonyms: red, communist, socialist, anarchist, pacifist. Even mild liberalism is frequently denounced as dangerous radicalism. President Roosevelt is demonstrably a middle-of-the-road defender of capitalism. Evidence supporting this statement may easily be piled to the ceiling. Yet countless patrioteers are running about the country shrieking that President Roosevelt is communistic. There is method in this madness. Defenders of the existing system readily assume that any departure from competitive individualism threatens their interests and are therefore inclined to lump together in a conglomerate mass all innovators who are endeavoring to bring about changes.

A disquieting sign of the times is found in the widespread circulation of *The Red Network*, by Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling. This volume purports to be a who's who of subversive radicals and has become a standard reference work in conservative circles. Countless chairmen of program committees consult it before arranging their annual programs. For a speaker to be found listed is automatic disqualification in many institutions. Indeed, Mrs. Dilling intended the volume to be a black list. Here are her words: "Mention in this Who's Who will be re-



garded by those who are proud of their affiliations as a badge of honor, by those ashamed of them as a black list." Among the 1,300 individuals thus black-listed are the following: Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Newton D. Baker, William Allen White, Senator Borah, Senator Costigan, Senator LaFollette, Senator Nye, Mayor LaGuardia of New York City, the late Jane Addams, Harry Emerson Fosdick, the late S. Parkes Cadman, Norman Thomas, President Glenn Frank, President William Allan Nielson, Edward A. Filene, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, President Robert Maynard Hutchins. Concerning Mahatma Gandhi the statement is made that he was "subsidized by Moscow as a first step in freeing India from England in order to Sovietize it." Among the organizations black-listed are these: American Friends Service Committee, Catholic Association for International Peace, National Catholic Welfare Conference, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, Congregational Education Society, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Socialist Party, Fellowship of Reconciliation, National Council for the Prevention of War, and the Cooperative League of the U. S. A. That this utterly unreliable book should be used so widely and with such veneration in attacking even liberal critics of the present social order is proof of the extreme gullibility of human beings.

*(b) More equitable sharing of purchasing power and wealth, thus extending private ownership of "property for use."* The only cure for democracy is more democracy. Unless the people of this land are alert enough to provide a strong tonic of genuine democracy, representative government will perish of anemia. Political democracy cannot function satisfactorily in an urbanized and industrialized nation so long as economic power is concentrated in the hands of a tiny fraction of the population. Financial oligarchy is a malignant growth that chokes democracy.

Gross inequality of wealth creates a situation where the masses of workers do not receive sufficient income to purchase the volume of goods they produce; whereas a small minority of rich owners cannot spend their incomes upon themselves in a socially useful way and cannot find profitable sources of investment for their excess savings. This combination of surplus goods that cannot be sold at home and surplus capital that cannot be satisfactorily invested greatly intensifies the international struggle for foreign markets and domination of foreign fields of investment. The additional combination of glutted home

markets and millions of unemployed workers reenforces powerfully the trend toward higher tariffs and other restrictions against foreign goods.

Extreme concentration of economic power enables a small minority not only to dominate the financial and industrial policies of a nation but also to exercise enormous political influence through control of the press, the radio, the movies and other agencies of public opinion. Its members also wield great authority on boards that control educational institutions and religious organizations. If therefore the evidence reveals excessive consolidation of economic power in the United States, we have no reason to be surprised that democracy is in a sickly condition.

The ideal of an equalitarian society must be accepted and movement made in that direction if democracy is to survive. Economic democracy must be teamed up with representative government. The concentration of economic power enables an oligarchy to appropriate such a heavy proportion of the national income that we are confronted with the menacing paradox of too much money and too little money. Lack of purchasing power prevents the masses from buying back the goods they have produced. The demand for new plants and replacements is not sufficient to provide an investment outlet for the excessive savings congested in the hands of a small minority, with the result that bankers have been looking frantically for persons to whom loans may be made and the rate of interest on short-term government loans actually dropped to 2/1000 of one per cent per year.<sup>1</sup> If billions less had flown into the coffers of the rich and billions more had been placed in pay envelopes of the workers, the economic vitality of this nation would now be much greater. Indeed, escape from dictatorship can be found only in the direction of greater equality of economic power. More democracy must be injected into democracy.

(c) *Extension of multiple forms of common ownership of "property for power."* Imperative is the necessity of distinguishing between property which is used or consumed by the owner, and property which is an instrument of power over other persons. The case for private ownership of a modest home, furnishings, clothing, food and many other commodities required for use or consumption by individuals and families seems invincible. I am personally convinced that private ownership of a moderate amount of land by a farmer, suitably

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<sup>1</sup> *Financial Chronicle*, Feb. 4, 1939.

equipped, is highly desirable. It may be that human experience will demonstrate the continuing value of having certain types of small-scale production and distribution carried on by private enterprise, especially in the areas of highly skilled handicraft and artistic production.

Sharply divergent, however, is the social significance of another type of property, illustrated by electric-power generators, coal mines, railways, steel mills, and banks. The significance of this kind of property is not found in its use or consumption by private owners, but in the power bestowed upon owners to control economic instruments which are essential to the existence and comfort of all the people in a highly industrialized society and to extract for these owners a disproportionate share of the national income.

The emergence of a new property system is essential to the growth of a genuinely cooperative society in which universal fellowship may flourish. The nature of the new system is revealed in this paradox: There is urgent need for much more private property and an equal demand for much less private property; at present there is not enough private property in consumers' and users' goods because there is too much private property in the chief means of production and distribution. The possibilities open to us include these:

(a) Private ownership of homes, furnishings, clothing, food, and numerous miscellaneous articles which are used or consumed personally.

(b) Private ownership of various small units of production and distribution, especially in the areas of skilled craftsmanship.

(c) Group ownership by members of churches, fraternal orders, labor unions, farmers' organizations, business associations, etc., for mutual advantages in the realms of education, recreation, health, etc.

(d) Cooperative ownership by groups of consumers of stores, dairies, bakeries, and numerous other units of production and distribution.

(e) Municipal ownership.

(f) County ownership.

(g) State ownership.

(h) Joint ownership by two or more states.

(i) Federal ownership.

Plenty for everybody is within reach of the American people. We have been blessed with the required physical basis: soil, climate, natural resources. Man-power in abundance is available. Machinery and mechanical energy are ready to use. Administrative genius is at our disposal. Assets of incalculable worth are to be found in our heritage of political democracy and religious liberty. Squalor and strife are unnecessary. Plenty and peace are within reach. But we must cease to glorify competitive struggle for private gain and exalt cooperative effort for the common good, and we must create a property system which will make possible mutuality and genuine co-operation.

5. *By Participation in the Following Program of Action for the Individual.* Let no person have a feeling of helplessness in relation to the task of keeping America out of war. Much can be done by a determined individual.

(a) *Use available means of influencing public opinion.*

Public opinion is made up of ideas, traditions, myths, illusions, frustrations, passions, interests, loyalties, and ideals. And every individual can have an effective part in shaping and directing these potent forces. The minds of other individuals can be changed, their motivations and loyalties can be shifted, their emotions can be directed into new channels. Judgments and feelings form public opinion; public opinion in the long run decides governmental action; governmental action determines whether we are to have war or peace.

Study of international problems is required of persons desiring to be effective participants in the peace movement. Through books, magazines, lectures, classes and radio programs one must keep informed. To the person who insists that he does not have the time needed for this study, the question should be put: is every hour of your daily program now being spent in ways that are more important than in helping to prevent the suicide of civilization in another world war? Are the lives and destinies of all those you love worth the time required to equip yourself for effective action against war?

Take membership in one or more peace societies and thus secure additional access to information and suggested courses of action; and, moreover, strengthen much needed cooperative agencies of persons determined to prevent war. Literature re-



ceived from these societies will help one to evaluate the significance of news in the morning paper.<sup>1</sup>

Persuade other individuals to inform themselves more thoroughly concerning international problems through reading, attendance at lectures and classes, and through careful selection of radio programs.

Help to organize and strengthen peace committees in local organizations, including churches, synagogues, clubs, fraternal orders, commercial organizations, labor unions, educational societies, etc. Help to increase the effectiveness of these committees as agencies of peace education and peace action.

Engage in systematic conversation daily with friends and acquaintances concerning problems of war and peace and seek to awaken their concern and enlist their activity.

Teachers, clergymen and other public speakers may wisely select subjects dealing with war and peace, emphasizing especially specific programs of action.

Write letters for publication in correspondence columns of newspapers and magazines emphasizing vital aspects of the peace message.

Contribute financially to one or more peace societies. The effectiveness of peace education and peace action obviously depends upon funds available. In determining the amount of one's gift, the relative importance of averting war and of other good causes should be kept in mind.

Cooperate in presenting anti-war plays and pageants, and in this way appeal to both intellect and emotion.<sup>2</sup>

Help to arrange peace parades and other public demonstrations for the purpose of arousing citizens and challenging them to action in behalf of peace.

Enlist the cooperation of leaders of orchestras and bands and

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<sup>1</sup> American Friends Service Committee, 20 South 12th St., Philadelphia, Penn. Committee on Militarism in Education, 2929 Broadway, New York City. Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York City. Keep America Out of War Committee, 22 East 17th Street, New York City. National Council for Prevention of War, 532 17th St., N. W., Washington, D. C. Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1734 F St., N. W., Washington, D. C. World Peaceways, 103 Park Avenue, New York City, War Resisters League, 171 West 12th St., New York City.

<sup>2</sup> Information concerning plays and pageants may be secured from the National Council for the Prevention of War, 532 17th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.; or from the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1734 F. St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

other musicians in increasing the effectiveness of peace meetings and demonstrations.

Display anti-war window cards and billboard posters and in this way challenge the attention of numerous persons who never attend peace meetings.<sup>1</sup>

Make use of anti-war stickers on window shields of automobiles. Local groups may print their own stickers at small cost, or information may be secured from various national peace agencies.

Use illumined maps in schools, churches, libraries, and other institutions to call attention to current events that affect the peace of the world. At a modest cost a map of the world may be equipped with tiny sockets in the principal cities of the various countries. Various colored bulbs (or thumb-tacks) may be used to designate types of events, and ribbons stretched to the margin of the map will call attention to brief typed descriptions or to clippings.

Arrange peace exhibits in windows of temporarily vacant stores or in other accessible places. These exhibits may include posters, window cards, stickers, leaflets, pamphlets and books dealing with war and peace. The practice of arranging peace exhibits in connection with conferences and conventions of various organizations is effective.

Distribute peace literature, including leaflets and pamphlets. Call attention to significant articles in magazines and to important books on war and peace.

Take advantage of anniversaries and special occasions for peace education and peace action.

Cooperate in sending youth deputations from colleges and churches to speak on war prevention before various groups in surrounding communities.

Encourage student protests against war and cooperate in promoting student peace demonstrations, especially by helping to make effective the annual national student strike against war.

Cooperate with the American Friends Service Committee in enrolling students as peace volunteers during the summer. Under this plan carefully selected mature students are trained for two weeks in special institutes and then sent in teams of four

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<sup>1</sup> Information may be secured from World Peaceways, 103 Park Avenue, New York City; and from The American Friends Service Committee, 20 So. 12th St., Philadelphia, Penn.

to carry on peace education in strategic rural regions throughout the summer.<sup>1</sup>

Churches, synagogues and other institutions may wisely conduct house-to-house visitations and every-member-canvasses in behalf of world peace. Through conversation and the distribution of literature new recruits for the peace movement may be won.

Seek by pacific means to transform competitive individualism into a cooperative commonwealth; especially by helping to strengthen the labor movement and the consumers' cooperative movement; and by political activity in behalf of a new social order.

Be vigilant in safeguarding freedom of speech, assembly and press.

(b) *Help discipline the emotions of the American people.* Controlled feelings as well as sound judgments are important. Propaganda in wartime plays incessantly upon emotions by falsehoods, misrepresentation, exaggeration, insinuations and slogans. Help your friends and neighbors to become increasingly aware of propaganda and alert to its menace. Remind them that swallowing is more dangerous than thinking. Diminish gullibility!

Release counter emotions. Resist emotion with emotion as well as with judgment. Create extreme repugnance against the indiscriminate slaughter of war. While avoiding sensationalism, emphasize the bestial character of war. Make young men recoil at the thought of dropping bombs upon enemy cities and killing men, women and children with dynamite and fire and poison gas. Generate a passionate determination to keep America out of war. Circulate this vivid and moving description of war by James Weldon Johnson:

Around the council-board of hell, with Satan at their head,  
The three great scourges of humanity sat.  
Gaunt Famine, with hollow cheek and voice, arose and spoke:  
"O Prince, I have stalked the earth,  
And my victims by ten thousands I have slain.  
I have smitten old and young.  
Mouths of the helpless old moaning for bread, I have filled with dust;  
And I have laughed to see a crying babe tug at the shriveling breast  
Of its mother, dead and cold.

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<sup>1</sup> Full information may be secured from Ray Newton, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Penn.

I have heard the cries and prayers of men go up to a tearless sky,  
And fall back upon an earth of ashes;  
But, heedless, I have gone on with my work.  
'Tis thus, O Prince, that I have scourged mankind."

And Satan nodded his head.

Pale Pestilence, with stenchful breath, then spoke and said:  
"Great Prince, my brother, Famine, attacks the poor.  
He is most terrible against the helpless and the old.  
But I have made a charnel-house of the mightiest cities of men.  
When I strike, neither their stores of gold or of grain avail.  
With a breath I lay low their strongest, and wither up their fairest.  
I come upon them without warning, lancing invisible death.  
From me they flee with eyes and mouths distended;  
I poison the air for which they gasp, and I strike them down fleeing.  
'Tis thus, great Prince, that I have scourged mankind."

And Satan nodded his head.

Then the red monster, War, rose up and spoke;  
His blood-shot eyes glared round him, and his thundering voice  
Echoed through the murky vaults of hell:  
"O mighty Prince, my brothers, Famine and Pestilence,  
Have slain their thousands and ten thousands—true;  
But the greater their victories have been,  
The more have they wakened in Man's breast  
The God-like attributes of sympathy, of brotherhood and love  
And made of him a searcher after wisdom.  
But I arouse in Man the demon and the brute,  
I plant black hatred in his heart and red revenge.  
From the summit of fifty thousand years of upward climb  
I haul him down to the level of the start, back to the wolf.  
I give him claws.  
I set his teeth into his brother's throat.  
I make him drunk with his brother's blood.  
And I laugh ho! ho! while he destroys himself.  
O mighty Prince, not only do I slay,  
I draw Man hellward."

And Satan smiled, stretched out his hand, and said:  
"O War, of all the scourges of humanity, I crown you chief."

And hell rang with the acclamation of Fiends.<sup>1</sup>

(c) *Endeavor to influence governmental action.* The United States is one of the countries in which it is possible for rank and file citizens to exert substantial influence on decisions of government. The voters of the nation have it within their power to decide which public officials are sent to Washington,

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<sup>1</sup> SAINT PETER RELATES AN INCIDENT, by James Weldon Johnson, published by permission of the Viking Press, New York.



and through various devices they can let their demands be known to their public servants. Literally dozens of ways of exerting direct and indirect influence are open to them. By personal contact or personal communication they can set forth their views on public questions; and in numerous ways they can help to create the public opinion which dominates governmental action.

Send telegrams and letters to Senators and Representatives. Concerned citizens should file their names, addresses, and telephone numbers with some local peace agency, and indicate a willingness to communicate with Washington promptly upon notification that a timely moment has arrived for communications dealing with specific legislative measures. Similar communications should also be sent to the President of the United States and to the Secretary of State, since they exercise great influence on legislation. In such communications the asking of questions which call for a definite answer is desirable. Volume is what counts in sending communications to public officials. An individual should not feel that his telegram or letter is unnecessary or futile, any more than he regards his individual ballot on election day as negligible in significance. Frequency in communicating with government officials is desirable. Alert citizens may wisely write or telegraph Senators and Representatives several times during a session of Congress. An effective practice is to take time at a public meeting or session of a discussion group then and there to write letters to public officials. Foresight in making available stationery, post-cards, and stamps is required.

Pass resolutions and circulate petitions. Copies of resolutions and petitions should be sent to local newspapers, as well as to the United States Senators, Representatives, the President, and the Secretary of State. Care should be taken to indicate the nature and place of the meeting and the number of persons present. It is highly desirable that resolutions calling for specific legislative action be passed by a wise variety of local organizations and sent to Washington. Volume, variety and frequency are needed.

Visitation of public officials in behalf of peace legislation is helpful. Wherever practicable, delegations of representative citizens should call upon the Senators and Representatives, either in Washington or when these officials are present in their home communities. More detailed suggestions concerning these various methods are contained in a leaflet entitled *Peace*

*Pressure Primer*, which may be secured upon request from the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1734 F. Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

(d) *Persuade the churches to renounce war.* In the United States many millions of individuals have professed their faith in Jesus Christ and have dedicated themselves to his way of life. They are supposed to derive their standards of action from his teaching and example. Surely, therefore, it is appropriate at this time of ominous crisis that those of us who are endeavoring to take Jesus seriously should seek illumination from him concerning appropriate means of dealing with enemies.

*Did Jesus say anything about methods of defense and did he do anything about war?* Were his attitudes and actions in conformity with contemporary thought and practice? A dramatic answer to these questions is presented in a famous scene where Pilate the Roman governor, in accordance with an old custom, offered to set free a prisoner selected by the populace. They called for the release of Barabbas and shouted for the crucifixion of Jesus. Why? Who was Barabbas? Here is the phrasing of the American Revised Version: "And there was one called Barabbas, lying bound with them that had made insurrection, men who in the insurrection had committed murder."<sup>1</sup> Professor Goodspeed's translation of this verse reads: "There was in prison a man called Barabbas, among some revolutionaries who in their outbreak had committed murder." Insurrection? Revolutionaries? Surely the meaning of this scene is clear: a band of Jewish patriots had rebelled against Roman rule and had been caught in the act, thus becoming national heroes in the eyes of their enslaved countrymen.

Barabbas was a follower of the ancient way of dealing with enemies by resorting to sword and dagger. In numerous passages in the Old Testament are to be found vivid descriptions of this method of defense. Here is a scene from Deuteronomy: "So you must show no mercy—life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot. . . . When you invest a city, you must offer it terms of peace. . . . But if it will not make peace with you, but wages war with you, you are to besiege it . . . you must put every male in it to the sword; but the women and children and livestock and everything that is in the city, that is, all its spoil, you may take as your booty, and yourselves use the spoil of your enemies . . . . but you must not spare a

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<sup>1</sup> Mark 15:7.

living soul; but you must be sure to exterminate them, Hittites, Amorites, Canaanites, Perizzites, Hivvites, and Jebusites . . .”<sup>1</sup> The book of Joshua abounds with pictures of massacre. Here is one summary: “Thus Joshua conquered the whole land, the highlands, the steppes, the lowlands, and the slopes, with all their kings, sparing no one, but massacring every living soul.”<sup>2</sup>

And the Psalmist cries aloud:

“And you, Babylonians, you who plundered us,  
A blessing on him who deals to you  
all that you dealt to us!

A blessing on him who snatches your babes  
and dashes them down on the rocks!”<sup>3</sup>

Barrabas so thoroughly represented this ancient way of dealing with enemies that he became a national hero for whose release the people clamored. At least four times during the days of Jesus, his countrymen broke out in armed rebellion, and on one occasion the Romans crucified two thousand Jewish patriots as a warning against further insurrection. Josephus the historian says of these young revolutionaries who fought against Rome: “They possessed unbounded love for liberty and look upon God as their only leader and ruler; it was a light thing for them to go forth to meet death, nor did they regard the death of their companions and kinsfolk, if only they might save themselves for the burden of a human ruler.” And as a consequence: “Scarcely a year went by during this century without wars or other disturbances: wars, rebellions, outbreaks and riots, and all of them with concomitant of incessant bloodshed; and this state of things prevailed in the Land of Israel throughout the whole epoch which preceded Jesus and prevailed also during his lifetime.” In these vivid words Professor Klausner describes the situation out of which the message of Jesus emerged. Has Hitler committed an atrocity more revolting than the crucifixion of two thousand Jewish patriots on two thousand trees? Is the new paganism in Germany more threatening to Christianity than was the pagan tyranny of Rome galling to devout Jews who looked upon their race as engaged in a divine mission for the Eternal?

In this seething caldron of hatred and rebellion, *Jesus proclaimed a way of life so utterly in contrast to the practice of warlike revenge that he was looked upon as a traitor to his country by enraged patriots.* Intimations of this new attitude

<sup>1</sup> Deut. 19:21, 20:10-17, *An American Translation.*

<sup>2</sup> Joshua 10:40, *An American Translation.*

<sup>3</sup> Psalms 137:8, 9, Moffatt.

are reflected here and there in the Old Testament, but only a tiny minority of the people ever acted as if they believed that patriots should beat their swords into plowshares, their spears into pruning-hooks and that they should learn war no more.

Jesus' way of treating enemies was derived from his deep conviction that the earth is part of God's home and that every human being is a member of God's family. The continuous presence of God was for him the most vivid of all realities. To a degree never equaled by any other person he experienced intimacy of comradeship with God as a loving Father. Indeed, a modern rabbi speaks of "this *exaggerated* sense of nearness to God" as a dangerous element in the life of Jesus. From this vital relationship with God came the realization that all human beings are children of one Eternal Father and as such are of inherent and inestimable worth. Every child of God is kin to every other child of God and therefore men ought always to treat each other as brethren. Man's whole duty is to love God utterly and to love neighbor as self.

Upon wicked children also God bestows the wealth of His affection. Love does not confine its ministrations to individuals who deserve to be loved. Even a prodigal son in a far country living like a hog calls forth passionate yearning and tender solicitude from his distressed father. Evil conduct if persisted in ultimately brings destruction, not because God is angry and metes out punishment but because the moral order of the universe is such that the harvest is determined by the seed sown. Whatever interpretation we feel obliged to place upon the passages dealing with punishment of sinners, we can say with certainty that no person will ever be damned with the consent of God. The Good Shepherd leaves the ninety and nine safe in the fold and seeks the one who is lost. It can never be His will that even the least of His children be lost. The wicked suffer terrible penalties in spite of God's love, not because of His anger.

Acting upon the realization that the Romans also are God's children possessing in themselves inherent and inestimable worth, Jesus could not hate them and could not respond to the urgent appeal of the Zealots that he lead his countrymen in driving the invaders out of Palestine by force of arms. Evil cannot be cast out with evil but only with sustained and intelligent goodness. The more zealously evil is practiced in the hope that good will result, the more virulent evil becomes and the more widely it is scattered. Therefore: "Do not pay



anyone back with evil for evil. . . . No! If your enemy is hungry, feed him! If he is thirsty, give him something to drink! . . . Do not be conquered by evil, but conquer evil with good." With abundant justification the Epistle to the Romans thus summarizes Jesus' method of dealing with enemies.

That his way and the way of Barabbas stood in utter contrast is incontestable. The evidence leaves no room for doubt that this divergence was recognized alike by Jewish patriots and by Jesus who constantly emphasized the contrast between the old method and the new method. Here is an illustration:

"You have heard that they were told, 'you must love your neighbor and hate your enemy.' But I tell you, love your enemies and pray for your persecutors, so that you may show yourselves true sons of your Father in heaven, for he makes his sun rise on bad and good alike, and makes the rain fall on the upright and the wrongdoers. For if you love only those who love you, what reward can you expect? Do not the very tax-collectors do that?"<sup>1</sup>

With the utmost seriousness Jesus endeavored to be loyal to the will of God, seeking resolutely to live every day as a good member of his Father's home. Love and forgiveness must be reflected continuously even though the evildoer remains recalcitrant. And a man must harbor no illusion concerning the risks inherent in the practice of resisting evil with goodness. In the struggle between guilt and innocence, if someone must perish it is better for the innocent to die for the guilty than for the innocent in self-defense to kill the guilty. Vicarious love and unfaltering forgiveness are the great solvents of wickedness. Loyalty to this deep conviction sent Jesus to the cross, whereas treachery to this faith would have destroyed much of his significance to mankind. Had he accepted the doctrine that the end justifies the means, and had he therefore taken up arms against Rome, his status in history probably would have been similar to that of Barabbas and millions of other patriots who have died on countless battlefields as they sought with armed might to recover or to maintain the freedom of their respective countries. Whereas in ancient days Lamech demanded vengeance "seventy and seven fold," Jesus proclaimed forgiveness "seventy times seven."

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<sup>1</sup> Matt. 5:43-46 *An American Translation.*

*Utterly irreconcilable with the way of the sword is the way of the cross.* Jesus was compelled to choose and upon his choice more than upon any other decision in history hung the fate of mankind.

Nevertheless, on countless occasions Christians of many lands have appealed to the teaching and example of Jesus in support of their actions as they went to war. Most frequent of all these citations is the scene in the temple when he drove out the money-changers.<sup>1</sup> The argument advanced is that Jesus here exhibited righteous indignation and resorted to violence in a holy cause; and therefore we may be confident that he approves of war in defense of high values. Is this a legitimate inference from the situation? Let the fact be emphasized that only in John's gospel is reference made to a whip of cords. Furthermore, there are important variations in the different translations of the original text. Three versions out of seven say that Jesus used the whip on the men as well as on the cattle—King James, Twentieth Century, and Williams; whereas, four versions say that the whip was used on the cattle and not on the men—American Revised, Moffatt, Goodspeed, and Weymouth. What is the strongest inference that may reasonably be drawn from the statement that Jesus used the whip on the men? That he sanctioned some forms of physical force. The record does not say that he killed the money-changers or that he slaughtered their families or that he burned down their homes. No evidence whatever is furnished by this scene that he sanctioned the method of taking up arms against Rome.

Even less convincing is the argument based upon the verse: "I came not to send peace, but a sword."<sup>2</sup> In Matthew's gospel the two preceding verses deal with confessing and denying him. The verse following reads: "For I came to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law." If we interpret these words literally we not only portray Jesus as a militarist but also as a home-wrecker. That Jesus did not use the sword literally is clear from the parallel passage in Luke: "Think ye that I am come to give peace in the earth? I tell you, Nay; but rather division: for there shall be from henceforth five in one house divided, three against two, and two against three." That is to say, some will confess and

<sup>1</sup> John. 2:15, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. 10:34; Luke 12:51.

remain loyal to him, and some will deny and reject him. Bankrupt of argument indeed is the person who cites this passage as evidence that Jesus sanctions righteous war.

Far more difficult is sound interpretation of the passage in which Jesus is reported to have urged his disciples to sell cloak and buy sword.<sup>1</sup> The disciples replied that they had two swords; whereupon he exclaimed, "It is enough." This scene is described in Goodspeed's translation: "But they said, 'See Master, here are two swords!' And he said to them, 'Enough of this!'" A few moments later Jesus and the disciples went unto the mount of Olives, and when Judas led a band of soldiers to arrest Jesus, the disciples were in a mood to resist. Moffatt's translation reads: "Now when the supporters of Jesus saw what was going to happen, they said, 'Lord shall we strike with our swords?' One of them did strike the servant of the high priest, cutting off his right ear; but Jesus said, 'No more of that!'" Reconciliation of the various elements in this situation is difficult. If he desired the disciples to be prepared for effective armed resistance, why did he say that two swords were enough, or why did he say "Enough of that?" Why did he in the hour of supreme danger forbid his disciples to use arms and why did he say, "No more of that"? The difficulty of interpreting this passage as justification for defensive war is further intensified by the realization that if Jesus and his friends had resisted arrest by killing soldiers much of the power of the gospel of love and forgiveness would have been nullified. Nothing unique characterizes a way of life in which enemies are resisted with weapons of battle.

The Himalayan fact of the record is that Jesus rejected the method of Barabbas and staked everything upon a contrasting way of dealing with enemies. Did he expect his disciples to follow the new way, or did he proclaim a double standard, one for himself and another for his friends? Is the teaching of Jesus merely a description of life in a future millenium, or is it a practical guide to conduct for co-workers with God in building a good society? The most profound elements in the message of Jesus lose all meaning when looked upon as being practical only in heaven or in an earthly Utopia. Consider for example this very problem of evil-doers: how could a member of a perfect community love

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<sup>1</sup> Luke 22:36.

enemies? Will there be enemies in the divine society? How could a person in heaven forgive seventy times seven? Why urge an attitude of turning the other cheek in a society where blows are not delivered? Why refer to the blessedness of being persecuted for righteousness sake if there are no persecutors? Surely the evidence is incontestable: Jesus did not draw a blueprint of a future millenium; he challenged his disciples to follow him in living today as good members of God's Home. Willingness to take up a cross by resisting evil with good is a required characteristic of faithful discipleship.

How strange that readiness to die for a cause should be considered visionary and Utopian! When the annals of human history are saturated with evidence of sacrificial devotion to innumerable causes! Barabbas was not looked upon as a visionary when he risked life by taking up arms against Rome, but rather was acclaimed as a practical patriot. Josephus was referring to rugged realists, not to sentimental idealists, when he pointed out that because "they possess unbounded love for liberty, it was a light thing for them to go forth to meet death." Yet the challenge of Jesus to take up cross and follow on to Calvary is dismissed as impractical idealism beyond the capacity of human nature! Sheerest of realism is the judgment that resistance to evil by doing evil merely multiplies and aggravates evil, whereas only goodness can conquer evil. Less visionary and more practical than Barabbas was Jesus when he rejected the ancient futility of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and a life for a life.

In endeavoring to reach a valid decision as to whether or not a Christian should ever go to war, *it is necessary that we remind ourselves of the real nature of warfare under prevailing conditions.* War is planned devastation and organized slaughter. War is atrocity, "a deed of violence or savagery; great cruelty or reckless wickedness." War cannot be waged without atrocity. Bombardment, air raid and blockade are orthodox weapons of warfare. War is now totalitarian in nature and no distinction can be made between belligerents and non-combatants, nor between men and women. War is a combat of entire population against entire population. Deceit and falsehood also are orthodox methods of warfare. The doctrine of military necessity reigns supreme. Passionate appeals to war gods supplant worship of the universal Father of all peoples including the enemy.

Wise and good people differ in judgment as to whether or



not war is ever justifiable. But they ought not to differ in their descriptions of the inherent and ineradicable characteristics of the war method. The premise is debatable that the perpetration of atrocities is sometimes a patriot's duty; that the poisoning of the public mind with distortion and falsehood designed to inflame passions is sometimes a patriot's duty; that the sidetracking of ethical ideals in favor of the practice of military necessity is sometimes a patriot's duty; that the banishment of a loving Father of all men and the bowing down before a god of war is sometimes a patriot's duty. But if these be obligations resting upon patriots, let them be proclaimed as such in plain unvarnished language.

"During the World War," writes Philip C. Jessup, "the Allies did not seek to disguise the fact that they placed great reliance on their plan to starve the German people into submission. The United States sought the same objective after it entered the war. Germany, on the other hand, eventually resorted to the unrestricted submarine campaign as a means of bringing like distress to England, always vulnerable if her lines of ocean communication can be cut. 'If England,' wrote the German Foreign Minister to the Government of the United States in 1915, 'invokes the powers of famine as an ally in its struggles against Germany with the intention of leaving a civilized people the alternative of perishing in misery or submitting to the yoke of England's political and commercial will, the German Government are today determined to take up the gauntlet and to appeal to the same grim ally.'"<sup>1</sup>

Precisely so! In wartime every belligerent nation endeavors to use starvation of civilian populations as a grim ally. In explaining his reasons for sending to Great Britain "long and exhaustive treatises" which were "submerged in verbosity," Secretary Lansing confided in his memoirs: "If my conviction was right as to the United States' entry into the war, and I never doubted it after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, it was of the highest importance that we should not become a belligerent with our minds too tightly tied by what we had written. We would presumably wish to adopt some of the policies and practices, which the British had adopted, though certainly not all of them, for our object would be the same as theirs, and that was to break the power of Germany and destroy the morale of the German people by an economic isolation, which would cause them to lack the very necessities of

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<sup>1</sup> Philip C. Jessup, *Neutrality*, vol. IV, pp. 34, 35.

life. If we went too far in insisting that Great Britain must cease certain practices as violative of our neutral rights, our utterances would certainly be cited against us by other neutrals if we, as belligerent, attempted to do the same thing. While our conduct might be illegal, we would not be flagrantly inconsistent. That reason was never lost sight of during the correspondence which passed between the two governments concerning the British restraints upon American trade. The notes that were sent were long and exhaustive treatises which opened up new subjects of discussion rather than closing those in controversy. Short and emphatic notes were dangerous. Everything was submerged in verbosity. It was done with deliberate purpose. It insured continuance of the controversies and left the questions unsettled, which was necessary in order to leave this country free to act and even to act illegally when it entered the war.”<sup>1</sup>

Economic isolation! Cause them to lack the very necessities of life! Bluntly speaking: starvation. And even to act illegally. Not only starvation, but illegal starvation! That is the method of war. And there is no basis for doubt that if the United States goes to war against a great power, it will endeavor to starve into submission the peoples of enemy lands.

To recoil in horror from retail atrocities, while committing wholesale atrocities, is not justifiable. The only realistic view of war is to recognize IT as atrocity. Listen to a blunt appraisal by General Sir Henry F. Thuillier: “To come back to submarines: it is urged that submarine attack on merchant vessels is inhumane since it violates an old and excellent sea custom that non-combatants should be taken off in safety. . . . But is it more so than to bombard a town with heavy artillery, regardless of the civilians and the women and children in it?—a practice which has prevailed for centuries, and no one makes any protest against it. Is it more inhumane than blockading a besieged town and starving the civilian inhabitants, including women and children? Is it more inhumane than cutting off the food supply of the whole of Germany and Austria, knowing full well that those countries could not produce sufficient food and milk for their own population? . . . All war is terribly inhumane. It is very splendid of our Navy to have kept up its chivalrous custom of ensuring the safety of civilians at sea right into the XXth century, but their less sensitive comrades on land have

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<sup>1</sup> *War Memoirs of Robert Lansing*, p. 128.

for long been in the habit of firing at railway trains or into towns without asking any questions about who are in them. We are more or less accustomed to these forms of inhumanity, but to send a few people adrift in open boats is a form which was new to us and so excited our horror and anger.”<sup>1</sup>

Consider also the significance of bayonets in wartime. Mr. H. M. Tomlinson quotes from a suppressed speech delivered during the war by a British Sergeant-major to cadets: “You’ve got to get down and hook them out with the bayonet; you will enjoy that, I can assure you. (Laughter.) You will want the bayonet to clear the trench. And it is because I know the value of the bayonet that I want you to forget sympathy. You should have no sympathy for any damned Germans; I have none, nor has anybody else that I know in France. If at any time you should be sympathetic, let it be to put a squarehead out of his misery—you will be doing him and yourself a good turn at the same time. (Laughter.) You will certainly know what it feels like to drive that bayonet home and get it out again; you will feel that you will like to go on killing. You are here to work on that idea and to work damned hard. . . . Don’t forget that the Germans, when they advance, do not come on in tens and twenties, but in their thousands, and you have got to kill or be killed. Get sympathy out of your head. We washed sympathy out of the service years ago. We go out to kill. We don’t care how, so long as they are killed.”<sup>2</sup>

Major Reginald Barlow, in discussing the instruction of junior officers during the war, said bluntly: “We’ve got to teach these men to be mean, they must look mean, act mean, because they are going against a dirty enemy, an enemy that recognizes no sportsmanship, but who uses every means in his power to kill—in order to combat that spirit we’ve got to make our men just a little bit more proficient in the art of killing than they are, we’ve got to put the spirit of kill in our men, and so put the fear of Christ in the Germans. . . .”<sup>3</sup>

*We go out to kill! We’ve got to make our men more proficient in the art of killing! That is the real business of war.*

American religionists should also remember that if the United States goes to war against Germany or Italy, or Japan,

<sup>1</sup> General Sir Henry F. Thuillier, in *Journal of the Royal United Service Institution*, May, 1936, p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by H. M. Tomlinson, *Mars His Idiot*, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Reginald Barlow, Major 302nd Infantry, Camp Devens, Mass., Sept. 28, 1917. Quoted in *The Outlook*, Oct. 10, 1917.

our fellow citizens will go out to kill those peoples for doing substantially what American patriots would do under parallel circumstances. A few days before the United States entered the World War, President Wilson said to Frank I. Cobb that "a declaration of war would mean that Germany would be beaten and so badly beaten that there would be a dictated peace, a victorious peace." It means, he said, "an attempt to reconstruct a peace-time civilization with war standards, and at the end of the war there will be no bystanders with sufficient power to influence the terms. There won't be any peace standards left to work with. . . . Once lead this people into war and they'll forget there ever was such a thing as tolerance. To fight you must be brutal and ruthless, and the spirit of ruthless brutality will enter into the very fiber of our national life, infecting Congress, the courts, the policeman on the beat, the man in the street."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Polk, of the American State Department, remarked to the British Foreign Minister in 1917: "Mr. Balfour, it took Great Britain three years to reach a point where it was prepared to *violate all the laws of blockade. You will find that it will take us only two months to become as great criminals as you are.*"

General Sherman once said, "You take the best lot of young men, all church members, if you please . . . put them into an army . . . let them invade the enemy's country, and live upon it for any length of time, and they will gradually lose all principle and self-restraint to a degree beyond the control of discipline."<sup>2</sup>

Should followers of a religion based on reverence for every person and recognition of kinship of all peoples seek justice and security by resorting to planned devastation of extensive territories and organized slaughter of men, women and children indiscriminately? Should they endeavor to starve entire populations and to burn whole cities? Should they deal in falsehood and devote themselves to the engendering of hatred and fury?

*If premeditated and deliberate planning to perpetrate the countless atrocities of war is not a flagrant violation of Jesus' way of life then no method of resisting aggression and tyranny can be contrary to that way.* To say that the method

<sup>1</sup> Cobb of "The World," *A Leader in Liberalism*, compiled by John Heaton (New York, 1924), 269 f.

<sup>2</sup> H. C. Peterson, *Propaganda For War*, pp. 255, 51.



of war may be consistent with his teaching and example is to say that he could consistently have joined the zealots and taken up arms against the invading Romans. But surely it is indisputable that if he had resorted to the sword against tyranny he would not now be revered as the noblest of all religious leaders. He could not have manifested active goodwill toward the Romans by plunging a dagger to their hearts. He could not have set an example of forgiveness seventy times seven by calling upon his fellow countrymen to massacre the Romans. The way of Jesus and the method of war stand in utter opposition to one another. We can choose the road of atrocity or the way of the cross, but we cannot at the same time travel both highways since they lead in opposite directions. War with its atrocities is irreconcilable with the religion of Jesus and this incontestable truth has been widely proclaimed by numerous religious bodies.

Compromise with the war system and with unjust social systems produces ethical blindness and insensitivity. “. . . be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind. . . .”<sup>1</sup> “If, therefore, your very light is darkness, how deep the darkness will be!”<sup>2</sup> Conformity to the slave system brings blindness with regard to human relations; and conformity to the war system destroys vision of its iniquities. If Christians declare that atrocity is mercy, and if they assert that planned devastation and organized slaughter are acts of holiness, they become blind leaders of the blind, and civilization plunges over the precipice.

Therefore, the least that the churches can do is renounce war without qualification and refuse ever again to approve or support it in any way. Members of churches should be admonished never to commit the terrible sin of engaging in war. Civil war, as distinguished from non-warlike class struggle, is the most revolting kind of war and is therefore irreconcilable with the way of Jesus.

(e) *Proclaim a personal determination not to approve of war or to engage in its suicidal slaughter.* Loyalty is indispensable to the effective functioning of any valid way of life. A true patriot does not say: “I rejoice in loving my country on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Friday; but on other days I seek satisfaction in a different way.” It is not enough for a patriot to be loyal to his nation in times of prosperity

<sup>1</sup> Romans 12:2.

<sup>2</sup> Matthew 6:23, *An American Translation.*

and safety; he is called upon also to demonstrate his devotion in periods of adversity and danger. Mussolini demands and receives unquestioning obedience from fascists. Followers of Stalin would be executed for treason if they alternated between support of communism and capitalism.

The way of love is terribly handicapped if an individual exhibits this attitude between demonstrations of hatred. Reverence for personality is nullified by atrocious assaults upon human beings, and the melting power of forgiveness is rendered impotent by exhibitions of venom. Goodness cannot overcome evil if this procedure is adhered to only intermittently between successive endeavors to obtain revenge. Complete consistency is impossible for immature beings, but at least a minimum of constancy is required if utter chaos of life is to be avoided. Imperfect Christians are unable to avoid some degree of oscillation between opposites, but the meaning of their religion is obscured when they indulge in practices which they recognize to be flagrant violations of the way of love. There would have been no consistency and no vitality in Jesus' way of life if he had alternated between urging love of enemies and hatred of Romans. Loyalty is indispensable.

The objection is sometimes raised that since mortal man in complex situations cannot clearly understand the meaning of the way of love, and since he is still less able to act at all times in accordance with its demands, he should not depend upon the law of love as a guide to human conduct. This point of view is illustrated by reference to a competitive economic order. An individual who is engaged in a highly competitive industry cannot meet the demands of perfect love. In spite of strong desire to live in fellowship with his employees and to show reverence for personality, a manufacturer may find himself unable to pay a living wage because ruthless competition makes it impossible for him to provide an income high enough to enable workers to live decently and comfortably. A citizen soon discovers that he cannot disentangle himself completely from the iniquities of his community and nation. How can he escape responsibility for exploitation if he patronizes a store where prices are low because its employees receive mere subsistence wages? The money he pays in taxes may be used to build armaments with which to enforce imperialistic exploitation of primitive peoples.

If we find that it is impossible to avoid some practices which violate the law of love, are we thereby absolved from following that way when it is possible to do so? The judgment is sometimes expressed that since a pacifist cannot possibly disentangle himself from all the social iniquities of capitalism, it is not reasonable for him to take the position that he will never approve of or engage in war. This observation prompts a query as to the nature and degrees of personal responsibility. Consider a wartime situation: one individual is enthusiastic about the war as a necessary means of resisting evil and enlists in a machine-gun corps; another individual is opposed to the war and exerted himself to the utmost to prevent a declaration of war, but now finds himself producing potatoes which may provide strength for soldiers as they wage war. If the premise is accepted that engaging in war is wrong for a Christian, are these men equally guilty? Is indirect and involuntary participation on the same level with direct and voluntary participation? Answer in terms of these additional illustrations: does inability to avoid purchasing some goods which are produced through exploitation of human labor bring the same quality of guilt that adheres to an individual who deliberately exploits the weak for his own enrichment? Are these two citizens equally guilty: an individual who is opposed to armed intervention in other lands but who pays taxes to a government which uses his money to carry out a policy of intimidation and exploitation, and a manufacturer of munitions who conspires to produce international friction in order that his profits may be increased? If no fundamental distinction may validly be drawn between remote and unwilling participation in evil, on the one hand, and direct and conscious participation, on the other, then moral conduct is impossible and it is an utter waste of time to discuss questions of right and wrong. In a wicked and complex society, no individual can remain entirely free from indirect entanglement in corporate evils. If conduct of this character is equally reprehensible with, say, hatred and murder, then moral choice is sheer illusion. If the payment of taxes to Caesar made Jesus equally responsible with Pilate for the cruel exploitation of the Jews, then distinctions between right and wrong are so blurred that no criterions of moral conduct are visible.

But the question of moral responsibility for a Christian cannot thus be evaded. Even though we cannot reflect untar-

nished loyalty to the way of love, we do possess at least minimum insight and minimum power to follow moral judgments. We know that some attitudes and some practices are wrong, and sometimes it is possible for us to refrain from what we know to be wrong. To the degree that we know and to the extent that we have power, we are obliged to refrain from participation in evil. Reference to a color scheme may be illuminating. If black is used to designate attitudes and practices which ought never to be maintained and committed, and if white be used to signify dispositions and deeds which are always appropriate, then every Christian has a list of blacks and whites. Many lists of black include these: *a Christian should never hate another person; he should never seek revenge; he should never look upon another person merely as a means to his own advantage; he should never commit rape and certain other sexual offences; he should never join a lynching mob and help burn at the stake another human being; he should never place a higher value upon his own personal property than upon the life of another person; he should never be content to be a parasite without responsibility for the common good; he should never fail to acknowledge his own indebtedness to God and to his fellowmen; he should never manifest disrespect and defiance toward God.*

On such a list uncounted numbers of Christians place approval of war and engaging as a belligerent in war. For them war is black. As far back as 1916 I was driven to the conclusion that the method of war is not a lesser evil but a combination of the worst of all evils: indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children, irrespective of the character of or the degree of their guilt, by explosive, fire, poison gas, and starvation-blockade; deliberate and massive use of false propaganda to engender hatred and to arouse brutal passions; corruption of religion by using it as a justification for venom and atrocity. If the method of war is not contrary to Jesus' way of life, then no method can be contrary to it; if we are not justified in reaching the judgment that the method of war is irreconcilable with his teaching and example, then we must conclude that Jesus has no distinctive message about the treatment of evildoers.

Thus many Christians are driven inescapably to the judgment that they should never approve of the method of war and should never go to war under any circumstances. Many of us are constrained to proclaim our resolute rejection of



the method of war, even though we are unavoidably entangled in many of war's roots and even if we are unable to escape the coils of other forms of sin. We must take confident action with regard to blacks and whites even though we are confused about light grays and dark grays and are relatively impotent in dealing immediately with light browns and dark browns. Through constant saturation of self with the mind and spirit of Christ and through rigorous analysis of specific situations, it is possible progressively to extend the zones of black and white and to be increasingly confident of the validity of our procedure over wider and wider ranges of life. And in the meantime we must move forward in a spirit of contrition, constantly manifesting anguish of soul because of inextricable entanglements in corporate iniquities and because of frequent exhibitions of treason to the highest good that we can perceive.

The methods by which war resistance may be made effective include actions by individuals, by groups and by corporate bodies. Individuals who have reached a mature and resolute conviction that they will never approve of or participate in any future war should make a public declaration of this determination in one or more of the following ways: announcement to relatives and friends; signing a local register of individuals who are unwilling to engage in war; notifying the President of the United States and the Secretary of State of this determination not to support any future war; joining an organization of pacifists, local or denominational or national.

The Fellowship of Reconciliation is an international society of religious pacifists.<sup>1</sup> It is made up of individuals in many countries who are attempting seriously to follow Jesus' way of life. It began in England soon after the outbreak of the World War as a movement of protest against war and of faith in a better way than violence for the solution of all conflict. Although its members do not bind themselves to any exact form of words: "They refuse to participate in any war, or to sanction military preparations; they work to abolish war and to foster good will among nations, races and classes; they strive to build a social order which will suffer no in-

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<sup>1</sup> The office of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the United States is located at 2929 Broadway, New York City; with branch offices at 1902 Blakemore, Nashville, Tenn., and 520 East Orange Grove Ave., Pasadena, California.

dividual or group to be exploited for the profit or pleasure of another, and which will assure to all the means for realizing the best possibilities of life; they advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrong-doer rather than inflict retributive punishment; they endeavor to show reverence for personality—in the home, in the education of children, in association with those of other classes, nationalities and races; they seek to avoid bitterness and contention, and to maintain the spirit of self-giving love while engaged in the struggle to achieve these purposes. It is intended that members shall work out these purposes in their own ways. There is no uniform program of social reconstruction to which all are committed. The movement depends not upon a large number of nominal adherents, but upon those who, accepting the principles fully for themselves, will give time individually and in groups to thinking out what is implied, and will set themselves seriously to apply their conclusions. Such an endeavor inevitably brings a consciousness of insufficiency; but strength and wisdom, far beyond the limits of our present experience, are available to all who open their lives to the leading of the Spirit of God."

The War Resisters' League has members in many lands who have signed this declaration: "War is a crime against humanity. I therefore am determined not to support any kind of war, international or civil, and to strive for the removal of all the causes of war."<sup>1</sup>

Group declarations of determination not to support war are effective means of influencing public opinion. These may take the form of manifestoes signed by men and women from all parts of the nation; or by outstanding leaders of a particular religious body or by officers of various other national or regional organizations; or by outstanding citizens of a local community. Official statements from religious assemblies and other organizations renouncing war and refusing to approve or support it are helpful.

Whether or not the United States again goes to war depends on the attitudes and actions of rank and file citizens. What we do about war will determine the future of all those we love and will decide the fate of our civilization. No sensitive and sensible person, therefore, will beg off on the ground that he is too busy to help prevent war. The challenge to

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<sup>1</sup> The American address is 171 West 12th Street, New York City; Miss Jessie Wallace Hughan, Secretary.

action is made more imperative by reason of the fact that the odds are heavily against success in the endeavor to keep America out of war.

No martial trumpet ever sounded a more impelling and urgent call than is now being proclaimed by the peace movement. Patriotic citizens are summoned to give themselves with the same abandon that is demanded in wartime. It is possible to keep the United States out of war and to make a vital contribution to the maintenance of world peace. A million alert and resolute Americans could bring about the required changes. Inaction at this crucial hour is a vote for war.<sup>1</sup>

*III. We Can Keep America Out of War!* It is stupid and criminal to swallow the propaganda that America must *inevitably* be drawn into this war. We can stay out! The pressure to drive us in will be increasingly terrific but that pressure can be resisted. And there is solid basis for the judgment that it will be resisted and that the United States will be kept out of this suicidal madness.

A record of our experiences as a neutral during 1914, 1915 and 1916 reveals clearly not merely the steps by which we were drawn into the World War but reveals with equal vividness *the titanic difficulties in the way of forcing this people over the brink of war*. This nation did not rush recklessly into war but moved toward the precipice with extreme reluctance. Two years and eight months passed before the citizens of this land were sufficiently aroused to enter the combat. And this in spite of the fact that the dice were loaded for war. The policies we adhered to and the actions of many high officials of our government were provocative in the extreme. Consider some relevant evidence. The extreme importance of the personal attitudes of high officials is made vividly clear by an examination of the relevant documents. The four individuals who acted as President Wilson's closest advisers were all strongly pro-British and anti-German in feeling: Colonel House, Secretary Lansing, Ambassador Page and Ambassador Gerard. The result was that British infractions of American rights were not regarded with the same resentment and abhorrence as were German violations. The Allied

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<sup>1</sup> See *Pacifist Handbook*, published by Peace Section of American Friends Service Committee, 20 So. 12th St., Philadelphia; Fellowship of Reconciliation, 2929 Broadway, New York City; and other peace agencies. Ten cents per copy.

blockade produced far more suffering and caused many more deaths of women and children in Germany than were caused by German submarine warfare. But fatalities from blockade did not produce more than a tiny fraction of the revulsion that was caused by submarine warfare. If Germany had succeeded in starving the British and the latter had retaliated with unrestricted submarine warfare, the feelings of high American officials would have been vastly different.

Before the end of the first year of the war Secretary Lansing had written down his conviction that the United States should enter the conflict "in case it becomes evident that Germany will be the victor. A triumph for German imperialism must not be." Twelve months later he wrote: "I only hope that the President will adopt the true policy, which is, 'Join the Allies as soon as possible and crush down the German autocrats.' If he takes drastic measures against Great Britain, he will never be forgiven."<sup>1</sup>

No person was more acutely aware than Secretary Lansing that Great Britain was engaged in wholesale violations of American rights. "Under the accepted rules of international law these detentions and seizures were illegal and indefensible," he wrote, "as were the lists of contraband issued from time to time by the British government. . . . Many more Americans were directly affected by these British practices than were affected by the activities of German submarines."<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, as secretary of state of a neutral nation, Mr. Lansing wrote: "Sympathetic as I felt toward the Allies and convinced that we would in the end join with them against the autocratic governments of the Central Powers, I saw with apprehension the tide of resentment against Great Britain rising higher and higher in this country. . . . I did all that I could to prolong the disputes by preparing, or having prepared, long and detailed replies, and introducing technical and controversial matters in the hope that before the extended interchange of arguments came to an end something would happen to change the current of American public opinion or to make the American people perceive that German absolutism was a menace to their liberties and to democratic institutions everywhere. . . . Short and emphatic notes were dangerous. Everything was submerged in verbosity. It was done with deliberate purpose. It insured con-

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<sup>1</sup> *War Memoirs of Robert Lansing*, p. 173.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.



tinuance of the controversies and left the questions unsettled, which was necessary in order to leave this country free to act and even to act illegally when it entered the war.”<sup>1</sup>

And the writer of these amazing words was President Wilson’s secretary of state and most frequent counselor. Yet this pro-British official of the United States felt obliged to record this opinion of the American ambassador in London: “. . . it was useless to present protests and complaints through him, in view of his manifest unwillingness to protect the rights of Americans, if the exercise of those rights interfered with the British war policies.”<sup>2</sup> That there was abundant justification for this statement is evidence from a notation in the British foreign minister’s memoirs. “Page’s advice and suggestions,” wrote Viscount Grey, “were of the greatest value in warning us when to be careful or encouraging us when we could safely be firm. . . . Page came to see me at the foreign office one day and produced a long dispatch from Washington contesting our claim to act as we were doing in stopping contraband going to neutral ports. ‘I am instructed,’ he said, ‘to read this dispatch to you.’ He read, and I listened. He then said: ‘I have now read the dispatch, but I do not agree with it; let us consider how it should be answered!’”<sup>3</sup>

Secretary Lansing himself went so far as to help the British Ambassador in Washington to draft a dispatch to the British Foreign Minister! Here is the comment of Professor Tansill: “Mr. Lansing was painfully anxious to conciliate the British Government. In his conversations with Spring Rice, Mr. Lansing betrayed an evident eagerness to be helpful and friendly, and upon one occasion the British Ambassador was so pleased with Mr. Lansing’s suggestions that he enlisted his services in the draft of a dispatch to Sir Edward Grey. Friendly feelings for Great Britain soon became a watchword with Mr. Lansing, and so evident did this fact become to members of the diplomatic service that even Mr. Page himself soon reversed his attitude and sent cordial greetings to the official he had so bitterly scorned.”<sup>4</sup>

Colonel House held no public office but he exercised more influence over President Wilson than any other individual.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 112, 128, 171.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 170, 166.

<sup>3</sup> Viscount Grey, *Twenty-five Years*, vol. 2, p. 110.

<sup>4</sup> Charles Gallan Tansill, *America Goes to War*, p. 162.

He was pro-British to an extreme degree. Mr. Ray Stannard Baker, biographer of President Wilson, makes this comment about Colonel House: “. . . reading his letters and his diary, one cannot avoid the impression that House was being completely dominated, just as Page was, by British diplomacy.”<sup>1</sup>

Early in the war President Wilson reached the conclusion that the United States must enter the arena if our support should become necessary to prevent a German victory. This fact has been made clear by Colonel E. M. House, Woodrow Wilson's closest confidant and the person who throughout his two administrations exerted a far greater influence in the determination of our foreign policy than did the Secretary of State or anyone else, except the President. On numerous occasions secret and crucially important missions were entrusted to him by the President. Concerning Mr. House, Clemenceau wrote in his memoirs: “A good American, very nearly as good a Frenchman.”<sup>2</sup>

On October 17, 1915, Colonel House wrote to Sir Edward Grey, British Foreign Minister, as follows: “It has occurred to me that the time may soon come when this Government should intervene between the belligerents and demand that peace parleys begin upon the broad basis of the elimination of militarism and navalism. . . . what I want you to know is that, whenever you consider the time propitious for this *intervention*, I will propose it to the President. . . . It is in my mind that after conferring with your Government, I should proceed to Berlin and tell them that it was the President's purpose to intervene. . . . *I would not let Berlin know, of course, of any understanding had with the Allies. . . . If the Central Powers were still obdurate it would probably be necessary for us to join the Allies and force the issue. . . . I would have made this proposal to the President last autumn*, but you will remember that it was not agreeable to the Allies.”<sup>3</sup>

On March 6, 1916, Colonel House reported in person to President Wilson in Washington. After a two-hour conference with his chief, the Colonel wrote: “I showed him the memorandum which Sir Edward Grey and I had agreed was the substance of my understanding with France and Great

<sup>1</sup> Woodrow Wilson, *Life and Letters*, vol. 5, p. 315.

<sup>2</sup> Georges Clemenceau, *Grandeur and Misery of Victory*, p. 148.

<sup>3</sup> *Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, vol. 2, pp. 90, 91. Italics are mine.

Britain. The President accepted it *in toto*, only suggesting that the word 'probably' be inserted. . . ."<sup>1</sup> The memorandum referred to is printed in House's *Intimate Papers*, and in Viscount Grey's memoirs. The relevant passage reads as follows: "Colonel House expressed the opinion that, if such a Conference met, it would secure peace on terms not unfavourable to the Allies; and, if it failed to secure peace, the United States would (probably) leave the Conference as a belligerent on the side of the Allies, if Germany was unreasonable."<sup>2</sup> Professor Seymour comments: "The value of the offer, was in no way lessened by the use of the word 'probably' which was a conventional covering expression common in diplomatic documents." Viscount Grey recorded the following opinion in his memoirs: "The memorandum was in effect *an offer by President Wilson to end the war on the terms described, and, if Germany refused, then to bring the United States into the war against her.*"<sup>3</sup>

This lengthy citation of evidence seems justifiable not only because of its extreme importance but because it is so utterly incredible that its truth would not be accepted unless supported by irrefutable documentary proof.<sup>4</sup> That a private American citizen who held no public office should make an offer to Allied statesmen, and have the offer ratified by the President of the United States, to enter the war unless Germany agreed to "reasonable" terms, one item of which was that Constantinople should be ceded to Russia,<sup>5</sup> without the consent or the knowledge or even the remotest suspicion on the part of Congress, which alone has the power to declare war, or of the American people who would have to wage the war—all this simply passes comprehension!

President Wilson and practically all of his closest advisers were determined that Germany should not be permitted to win the war and shaped our policy in accordance with this determination. Mr. Joseph P. Tumulty quotes President Wilson as saying: "I have gone to the very limit in pressing our claims upon England and urging the British Foreign Office to modify the blockade." Tumulty then referred to a letter

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 201; Viscount Grey, *Twenty-five Years*, (American Edition) vol. 2, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Viscount Grey, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 129, Italics mine.

<sup>4</sup> See Thomas M. Johnson, *Our Secret War*.

<sup>5</sup> House, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 170; also Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement*, vol. 1, pp. 32, 48, 51-58, 61, 66.

from Ambassador Page quoting Grey's remark that "America must remember that we are fighting her fight, as well as our own, to save the civilization of the world." To which the President replied: "He was right. *England is fighting our fight and you may well understand that I shall not, in the present state of the world's affairs, place obstacles in her way.*"<sup>1</sup>

Attorney General Gregory gives this description of a Cabinet meeting: "After patiently listening, Mr. Wilson said, in that quiet way of his, that the ordinary rules of conduct had no application to the situation; that the Allies were standing with their backs to the wall, fighting wild beasts; that he would permit nothing to be done by our country to hinder or embarrass them in the prosecution of the war unless admitted rights were grossly violated, and that this policy must be understood as settled."<sup>2</sup>

These provocative convictions of the President and his advisers made even more explosive the policy followed by our government. In order to help the Allies win the war, the administration did not make the serious effort to stop Allied violations of our rights that it did in relation to Germany's infringements. Professor Borchard and Lage have presented a convincing indictment of President Wilson and his counsellors for their lack of neutrality. "It is not a grateful task," they wrote, "to record the diplomacy of the United States during the period 1914-17. Although President Wilson had enjoined on the nation the necessity for remaining neutral 'in thought as well as in action,' unfortunately he soon found himself entangled in an emotional drift toward intervention in the war . . . the conduct of the American Government during that period was a negation of nearly all the requirements of neutrality both in thought and in action. . . . There is no doubt that the administration desired to see the Allies win and declined to take any action even in defense of American neutral rights which would seriously interfere with that objective. . . . Mr. Lansing discloses at least one reason for his insincere defense of American neutrality, by stating: 'In dealing with the British Government there was always in my mind the conviction that we

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<sup>1</sup> Joseph P. Tumulty, *Woodrow Wilson as I Knew Him*, pp. 230-231. Italics mine.

<sup>2</sup> *New York Times*, Jan. 29, 1925.



would ultimately become an ally of Great Britain.<sup>1</sup> His point of view being that of a prospective ally, his conduct was in reasonable accord.

"No wonder that Sir Cecil Spring-Rice's biographer could say of him: 'As to his value in negotiation, it cannot be overlooked that during the period while America was neutral, *all the issues in dispute between England and America were decided as England wished.*' And Lord Reading adds: 'I believe it to be the case that the Allied governments were never forced to recede from their position in any important question owing to American opposition.'<sup>2</sup> . . . It is now established that the British Ambassador was often notified in advance that important notes of protest against British violations of American rights were merely formal and not to be taken too seriously. . . . President Wilson thought the 'national honor' required him to fight for the right of American citizens to take passage unmolested on British merchant ships. As John Bassett Moore stated to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1936:<sup>3</sup> 'We became involved in war directly as the result of our undertaking to guarantee the safety of belligerent merchantmen and our taking the position that armed belligerent merchantmen were to be considered as peaceful vessels.'<sup>4</sup>

In spite of pro-Ally sentiment and pro-Ally support, the American people were extremely reluctant to enter the war. Secretary Lansing was well aware of the difficulty of the task to which he had set himself in his determination to prepare the public mind for war. "The majority of my callers during the summer and autumn of 1915," he wrote, "and for many months after that time, senators, representatives, and men high in financial and business circles, frankly said that they were against war, or else stated that, though they favored it, the bulk of the people with whom they came in contact were opposed to it. Even in December, 1916, a year and a half after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, when other submarine outrages had been added to the long score against Germany, one of the most prominent and influential of the Democratic

<sup>1</sup> Lansing, *op cit.*, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> Gwynn, *The Letters and Friendships of Sir Cecil Spring-Rice* (New York, 1929) II, 430-431. Italics mine.

<sup>3</sup> Hearings on S. 3474, Committee on Foreign Relations, U. S. Senate, 74th Cong., 2nd Sess. (Jan. 10-Feb. 5, 1936), p. 185.

<sup>4</sup> Edwin Borchard and William Potter Lage, *Neutrality for the United States*, pp. 33-34, 38-42.

leaders in the House of Representatives, Henry D. Flood, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, said that he had quietly made a personal canvass of the House and that there was unquestionably a majority opposed to a declaration of war against Germany. He himself, he said, favored a declaration but was not in favor of attempting to obtain it until it was certain of passage by a decisive vote."<sup>1</sup>

Concerning the Presidential Campaign of 1916, Secretary Lansing wrote: "Meanwhile the phrase '*He kept us out of war*' was having great influence as it spread from village to village and from house to house throughout the country. It was the subject of thousands of editorials and the theme of the army of campaign orators who were urging the re-election of the President. A comparison of unhappy Europe wasted by death and destruction, a prey to terror and dread of the future, with the United States enjoying peace and industrial prosperity was made on every platform. The happiness and contentment of the American people was credited to the President's diplomacy which had kept war from our shores and from our southern frontiers. . . . To check this tendency and to discount the fact that the President's conduct of our relations with Germany had prevented war with that Empire, Mr. Hughes at Kansas City, Missouri, one of the centers of Pro-German sympathy, asserted: '*It is said that this Administration has kept us out of war. There was not the slightest reason why anyone should get us into war. You could not get this country into war without making most inexcusable blunders.*'"<sup>2</sup> And here is the testimony of Ray Stannard Baker: "No matter how much Roosevelt might bluster and Root criticize, the country did not want war."<sup>3</sup> Colonel House wrote that Durant of General Motors "has just returned from the far West and insists that he met only one man between New York and California who wanted war."<sup>4</sup>

Professor Seymour summarizes the evidence in these words: "Whatever the degree and the extent of pro-Ally bias and whatever its cause, American opinion by the close of 1916 by no means inclined toward intervention on the Allied side. America was pacific to the core and Wilson owed his re-election in November to that pacifism. Secretary Lansing,

<sup>1</sup> *War Memoirs of Robert Lansing*, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> *War Memoirs of Robert Lansing*, p. 163. Italics mine.

<sup>3</sup> Ray Stannard Baker, *Woodrow Wilson, Life and Letters*, vol. 6, p. 234.

<sup>4</sup> *Intimate Papers of Colonel House*, vol. 2, p. 448.

himself an ardent interventionist, admitted in his *Memoirs* that only German methods of warfare could bring the United States to the help of the Allies. . . . There was certainly no weakening of this pacific spirit in the autumn of 1916. On the contrary, official relations with the Allies became more acrid. Wilson himself displayed a markedly critical attitude toward the British, and Colonel House gave warning that American opinion was turning against the Allies.”<sup>1</sup>

The task of keeping America out of the present war is difficult but not impossible. Many of the policies which proved to be so provocative and created so many incidents in 1914-1916 have been changed drastically. Many elements in the new attitude and new policy would have been regarded as dishonorable and cowardly, if not treasonable, by Woodrow Wilson. *The likelihood that this nation will stay out of war has been enhanced substantially by these changes:*

1. Proclamation of the policy that war trade and travel in war zones by American citizens are at the risk of trader and traveler.
2. Commitment to the policy that belligerents must assume title to commodities purchased within the United States and carry away these cargoes in their own ships.
3. Proclamation of the policy that to the utmost practicable degree American citizens and American vessels will be kept out of war zones.
4. Prohibition of loans to belligerents.
5. Prohibition against arming of American merchant marine.
6. Closing of our ports to belligerent vessels.

This new program needs to be supplemented by two important provisions: an absolute embargo against the sale of munitions and other war “supplies” to belligerents; and the limitation of the sales of all other commodities to belligerents, and to neutrals for transshipment, to their normal purchases in peacetime. Failure to include these provisions in our foreign policy is serious but not necessarily fatal. The other new elements in our program reduce substantially the likelihood that this country will be dragged into the war.

At this moment public opinion in the United States is overwhelmingly against entering the war. A recent poll conducted by *Fortune* reveals that only 16 per cent of our citizens are favorable to war against Hitler even if the Allies appear

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Seymour, *American Neutrality*, pp. 150-151.

to be losing, and less than 4 per cent favor immediate entrance into the war.<sup>1</sup>

It would be stupid to assume optimistically that there is no serious danger that America will become a belligerent.<sup>1</sup> The pressure against neutrality will become increasingly severe and the moral argument will be more and more insistent that it is our duty to take up arms in defense of the democracies. The sheer repetition of propaganda will tend to prepare the public mind for entrance into the war. Deeper and deeper entanglement in war trade will affect profoundly the judgments and the emotions of our people. The danger that we will be drawn into the war is serious. But this pressure can be resisted. Through an understanding of the causes and the probable consequences of this war, our citizens can adhere steadfastly to neutrality in order that we may serve the victims of this appalling conflict.

Alert and resolute citizens can help to keep America out of war by using constantly, many times daily, *such arguments as those set forth by Colonel Lindbergh* in his radio address of September 15, 1939: "We must band together to prevent the loss of more American lives in these internal struggles of Europe. We must keep foreign propaganda from pushing our country blindly into another war. Modern war with all its consequences is too tragic and too devastating to be approached from anything but a purely American standpoint. . . . Let us not delude ourselves. If we enter the quarrels of Europe during war, we must stay in them in time of peace as well. It is madness to send our soldiers to be killed as we did in the last war if we turn the course of peace over to the greed, the fear and the intrigue of European nations. We must either keep out of European wars entirely or stay in European affairs permanently.

"In making our decision, this point should be clear: These wars in Europe are not wars in which our civilization is defending itself against some Asiatic intruder. There is no Genghis Khan nor Xerxes marching against our Western nations. This is not a question of banding together to defend the white race against foreign invasion. *This is simply one*

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<sup>1</sup> *Fortune*, October, 1939.

<sup>2</sup> For a pacifist program of action in wartime, see the excellent *Pacifist Handbook* published by several peace agencies including the American Friends Service Committee, Peace Section; and the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Ten cents per copy.



*more of those age-old quarrels within our own family of nations—a quarrel arising from the errors of the last war—from the failure of the victors of that war to follow a consistent policy either of fairness or of force. . . . Let us make no mistake about the cost of entering this war. If we take part successfully, we must throw the resources of our entire nation into the conflict. Munitions alone will not be enough.*

*“We cannot count on victory merely by shipping abroad several thousand airplanes and cannon. We are likely to lose a million men, possibly several million—the best of American youth. We will be staggering under the burden of recovery during the rest of our lives. And our children will be fortunate if they see the end in their lives, even if, by some unlikely chance, we do not pass on another Polish Corridor to them. Democracy itself may not survive. If we enter fighting for democracy abroad we may end by losing it at home.*

*“America has little to gain by taking part in another European war. We must not be misguided by this foreign propaganda to the effect that our frontiers lie in Europe. One need only glance at a map to see where our true frontiers lie. What more could we ask than the Atlantic Ocean on the east and the Pacific on the West? No, our interests in Europe need not be from the standpoint of defense. Our own natural frontiers are enough for that. If we extend them to the center of Europe, we might as well extend them around the earth. An ocean is a formidable barrier, even for modern aircraft. . . .*

*“And if Europe is again prostrated by war, as she has been so often in the past, then the greatest hope for our Western civilization lies in America. By staying out of war ourselves, we may even bring peace to Europe more quickly.*

*“If war brings more dark ages to Europe, we can better preserve those things which we love and which we mourn the passing of in Europe today by preserving them here, by strengthening them here, rather than by hurling ourselves thoughtlessly to their defense over there and thus destroying all in the conflagration. The German genius for science and organization, the English genius for government and commerce, the French genius for living and understanding of life—they must not go down here as well as on the other side. Here in America they can be blended to form the greatest genius of all.*

"The gift of civilized life must still be carried on. It is more important than the sympathies, the friendships, the desires of any single generation. This is the test before America now. *This is the challenge—to carry on Western civilization.*"<sup>1</sup>

Let each reader personalize the crisis. If the coming of war depends on ME, will there be war? If MY actions decide the issue, will there be war? If MY INERTIA AND INACTIVITY prove to be determinative, will there be war? Victory depends on ME! If a million American patriots will act resolutely upon this truth, America can be kept out of war.

Because the energies and resources of the people of the United States will increasingly be needed for the relief of stricken humanity and for the reconstruction of a devastated world, this country must be kept out of war.

Because participation in this armed conflict would result in terrible loss of life and destruction of property; because of its brutalizing effects through releasing primitive passions of fear and hatred; because of the consequent corruption of religion, America must be kept out of war.

Because of calamitous after-effects in the probable continuation of wartime dictatorship and the fanning of the flames of industrial strife and civil war, the United States must be kept out of war.

Because this war was precipitated by the struggle of rival groups of nations for control of the territory and resources of the earth, and because responsibility for the catastrophe rests upon Great Britain, France and the United States, as well as upon Germany, Italy and Japan, this country should stay out.

Because the suicidal method of war is a futile way of attempting to obtain justice, maintain peace, and preserve high values, America should keep out of war.

Because of the irreconcilable contrast between the way of the sword and the way of the cross, Christians should endeavor to keep this country out of war.

For the sake of future generations, the scourge of war should be restricted to as limited territory as possible. By keeping out of war the people of the United States in the tragic days to come will be in a far more advantageous position to uphold democracy and to advance civilization.

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<sup>1</sup> Italics are mine.

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